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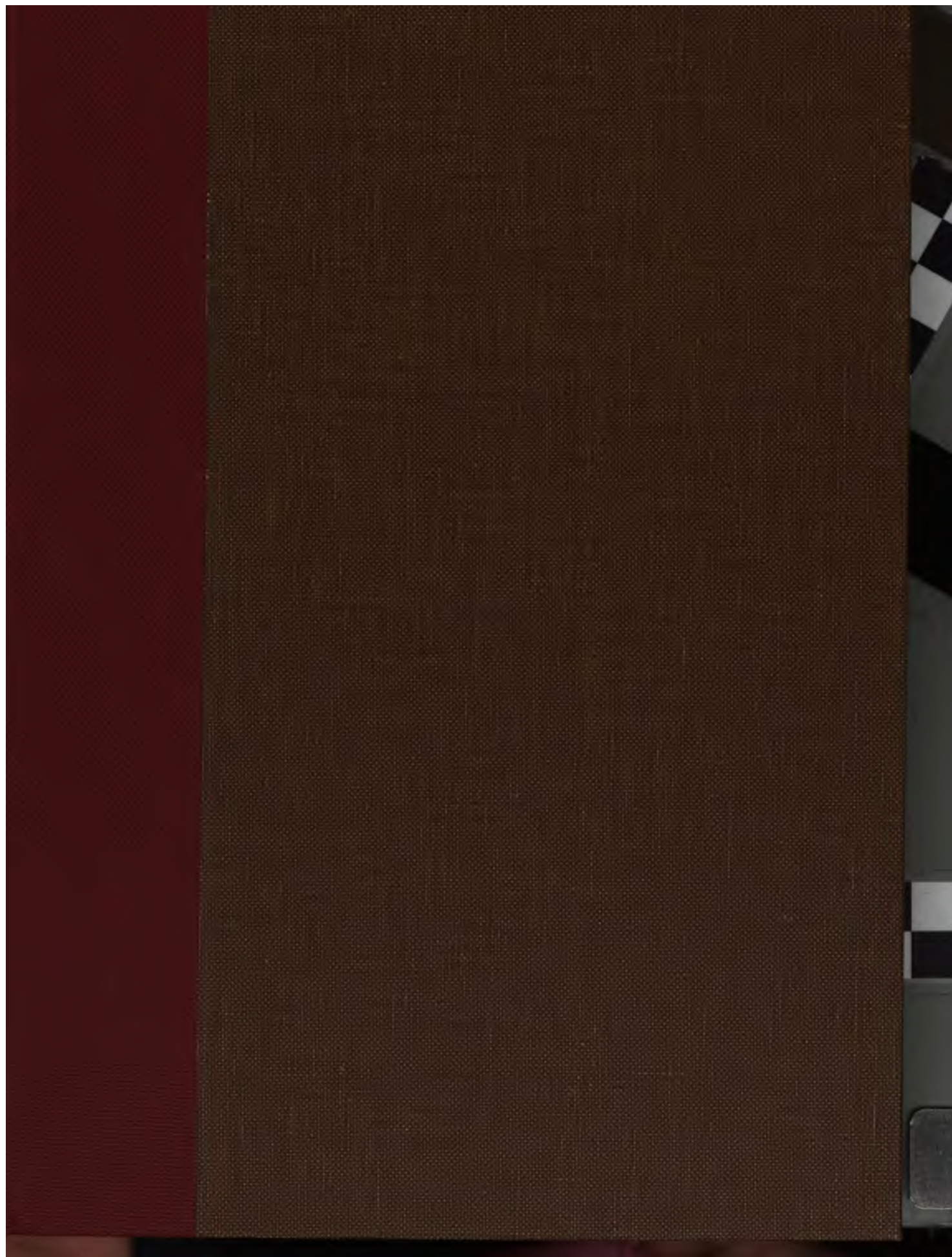
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..... 5 Dec. 1894.

Hendrick Pannebecker

SURVEYOR OF LANDS FOR
THE PENNS

1674—1754

FLOMBORN, GERMANTOWN AND SKIPPACK

BY

HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, LL.D.



PRIVATELY PRINTED.

PHILADELPHIA :

1894.

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Andrew Bunnell

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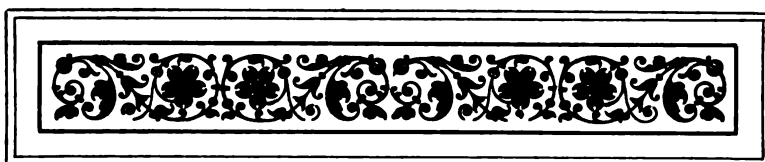
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S. W. P.



CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY—HOLLAND AND THE PALATINATE.

THE details of the lives of the early colonists of Pennsylvania must always be of interest, not only to their descendants, but to the thoughtful members of the community they aided to found. The growth, development and prosperity of a State depend upon the characteristics of the people. If it be true that Pennsylvania, though settled later than most of the other colonies, soon took a leading position among them; if she early forecasted the evil consequences of slavery, and saw the importance of a federal union; if she reckons both Independence Hall and Gettysburg among her inheritances; if the Pennsylvania idea has during the greater part of our federal existence been the controlling prin-

ciple in our politics, and if she is still growing more rapidly in population than any other State, while at the same time steadily maintaining in both city and country her American views, such unusual results must be due to some inherent traits and energy of character. It is well then for us to know who were the men who first came to the shores of the Delaware, whence they were, what were the motives that impelled them to emigrate, what had been their antecedents, and what the training that fitted them for the work they were called upon to do and so successfully performed. It is the purpose of this memoir to give such facts as can be ascertained concerning one of them, whose relations to the settlement in its early days were of some moment.

At the beginning of the Christian era the country extending eastward and westward about on a line with Roermond on the Meuse and Antwerp on the Scheld, and northward from this line to the rivers Meuse and Waal, perhaps to the east bank of the Rhine, was inhabited by a Teutonic tribe which Cæsar calls the Menapii. He says they had fields, buildings and villages upon both banks of the Rhine. He had numerous en-

gagements with them, laid waste their homes and drove them into the woods. They entered into a combination with the Aduatici and Nervii, under the command of Ambiorix, against Cæsar; and he says they were among the bravest and most warlike of the Germans. It is charged that they were given to cruelty, idleness and drink; that they regarded life so little as to venture it upon any hazard; that they could brook no opposition, and that they put to death the men and children of their enemies, and even the pregnant women when divination disclosed that these should bear sons. After the division of the empire of Charlemagne, in the ninth century, this region of country became part of the Dukedom of Lotharingen, so called from Lothar, the grandson of the emperor, who inherited it, and who, by the aid of the learned Werner, revived the laws of Justinian. In the northern part of it, somewhere in the neighborhood of the present cities of Gorcum, Heusden and 'sHertogenbosch or Bois-le-duc, we find the earliest traces of the family of Pannebakker. The name means, in the Dutch language, a maker of tiles. Van Heurn says, in his "History of 'sHertogenbosch," published at Utrecht

in 1776: "Formerly there was here a thick clay soil which underlay the thin surface. The clay out of it was used for the baking of bricks, tiles, and the making of clay walls," or in the Dutch, which shows the origin of the name, "Hier uit word de leem, tot het *bakken* van Steenen, *pannen*, en het maken der leeme wanden gehaald."

No one who has ever been in the Netherlands needs to be told how general is the use of the tile roof, nor how important in the home-life the industry of the Pannebakker must have soon become. On the 15th of September, 1463, an edict was issued, forbidding the further use of thatch or straw, and requiring that thereafter the houses should be covered with tiles. The local histories of this region through the early centuries contain only barren details of the genealogies of the Hertzogs and their wars. What happened to the people is only touched upon incidentally, and when the failure of the crops caused a famine, as in 1315, resulting in the death of one-third of the dwellers, when an unusual flood broke down the dykes and devastated the land, as in 1446, or when the pest, lingering for years until it had

exhausted itself, almost depopulated the country, as in 1438 and 1529—events which made so deep an impression that the most indifferent chronicler must narrate them. During this period we find no individual traces of the Pannebakkers, though at some early date their arms—three tiles *gules* on a shield *argent*—were cut in glass in the window of the church at Gorcum, that town where the ferocious Dutch hero, in the wars with Philip of Spain, after having entered the castle in the guise of a priest, blew the structure into pieces, and himself, his companions and the Spaniards into eternity.

From this locality, about the middle of the seventeenth century, a family bearing their Dutch name of Pannebakker went up the Rhine to the neighborhood of Worms, that celebrated city which was the scene of the Nibelungenlied, the home of Charlemagne and the place where Luther made his bold declaration in the struggle with Rome. The reason for their change of residence is unknown, but it was not improbably due to the wars which still ravaged the Netherlands. Nor is the date fixed with any definiteness, though a tradition preserved there to the present time says that the winter after their

arrival was of extraordinary severity. Upon the margin of one of the leaves of a Bible, brought to Germantown in 1685, and which now belongs to me, one of my ancestors wrote contemporaneously: "In the year 1658 the cold was so great that even the Rhine was frozen up. On the 31st of January so great a snow fell that it continued four days. There was no snow so great within the memory of man." It may be that this memorandum indicates the time of their emigration from Holland to Germany. They settled in Flomborn, a rural village containing to-day perhaps five hundred people, a large proportion of whom bear the Germanized name of Pfannebecker. A spring within its limits is still known as the "Hollanders' Spring." It has two main streets that cross each other, a Reformed church, an inn, a monument to commemorate the triumph of Germany over France, and two-story houses, roofed with tile, where the farmers who till the surrounding country have their homes together, as is the German custom. The road from Worms, passing the villages of Kriegsheim, so closely identified in its associations with our Pennsylvania life, and Oberflorsheim, and running through the beautiful and highly cultivated rolling country of the Palatinate, suggestive of



JOHANN PFANNEBECKER.

GEHEIMER REGIERUNGS RATH.

Member of the Reichstag.

Lancaster County without its fences and farm-houses, in about ten miles reaches Flomborn. The appearance in the church records of the names Werner Pfannebecker and Lothar Pfannebecker, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, indicates an attachment for their old home in the Netherlands and a recollection of its history. In recent times Johann Pfannebecker, a great-great-grandson of Werner, born in Flomborn in 1808, became one of the most conspicuous and influential personages in German public life. He was Staats-Procurator in Mentz, President of the Landwirthschaftliche Verein for Rhein-Hesse, for many years of the Kreisrath at Worms, member of the upper chamber of the Landstände, of the Parliament at Erfurt, of the Zollparliament, and of the German Reichstag. He was knighted, and bore the high title of "Grossherzoglich Hessischer Geheimer Regierungsrath." At the time of his death, at his home in Worms, March 7, 1882, he was the owner of the vineyard from which comes the Liebfraumilch wine, and he left six millions of marks. Upon his house the city of Worms has placed a tablet, containing an inscription commemorating his entertainment of the Emperor:

"In this house the victorious Emperor Wilhelm

abode and sat at table with the Protestant German Princes at the time of the dedication of the Luther Memorial, June 25, 1868."

Before his death he sent to me the *Weisthum*, or official record of Flomborn from 1542 to 1656, a MS. prepared in 1770, containing a description of its boundaries, its productions, its taxes and statistics, and signed by the town officials of that time, including Johann Pfannebecker. In 1891, I had a series of photographs made, showing everything of interest in and about the village, so that possibly in the future more information can be found concerning it in Pennsylvania than in Germany.

In 1657, William Ames, a noted preacher among the Quakers, and George Rolfe, of the same sect, went to Kriegsheim, and there succeeded in making some converts and setting up a meeting, which was maintained during the following years amid much opposition, but being the most distant point in Germany where the Quakers had gained a footing they watched it with great interest and care. Besse tells us that the priests (clergy) excited the rabble disposed to evil, "to abuse those persons by scoffing, cursing, reviling, throwing stones and

dirt at them, and breaking their windows." They were repeatedly fined and imprisoned, and their cattle, corn, cabbage, vines, swine, sheets, pewter and brass, and crops were seized because of a refusal to perform military duty. William Caton made a journey there in 1661, and wrote a letter from Kriegsheim to the Quakers in London concerning their welfare. Stephen Crisp paid them a visit in July, 1669. He says : "But the Lord preserved me and brought me on the 14th day of that month to Griesham, nere Worms, where I found divers who had received the Everlasting Truth and had stood in a Testimony for God about Ten Years in great Sufferings and Tribulations, who received me as a Servant of God and my Testimony was as a Dew upon the tender Grass unto them. I had Five good Meetings among them, and divers heard the Truth, and several were reached and convinced, and Friends established in Faith." He further says that just at that time the Pfaltzgraff had imposed a fine of four rix dollars upon each family for attending meeting, and on their refusal to pay, goods to the amount of thrice the value had been taken from them. He went to Heidelberg to intercede with the Prince for them and was graciously received.

On August 23, 1677, William Penn, accompanied by a coachful of persons from Worms, including the Governor and "one of the chief Lutheran priests," went out to Kriegsheim and preached to them. From there Penn wrote a letter of exhortation to the Princess Elizabeth. On the 26th, he walked out from Worms, six English miles, and held a meeting lasting five hours, in the course of which "the Lord's Power was sweetly opened to many of the inhabitants." He describes them as "Poor hearts! a little handful surrounded with great and mighty countries of darkness." On the 27th, after two more meetings, accompanied by several of them, he returned to Worms.

In 1685, and during the few next succeeding years, the most of the families constituting the Quaker meeting at Kriegsheim crossed the sea to Germantown, and thus happily escaped the troubles and disasters incident to a French invasion of the Palatinate. One of the results of that invasion was the general destruction of churches and of church records, the loss of which we may still deplore in this remote time and distant land.



CHAPTER II.

BIRTH AND EMIGRATION.

HENDRICK PANNEBECKER was born on the 21st of March, 1674, or within a day or two of that date, and, according to evidence which I think is convincing, in the village of Flomborn. There is no direct proof as to the place of his birth. The best that can be done is to collocate the facts that are known and see how fully they comport with that theory. He was one of the very early emigrants to Germantown, living there in 1699, and it may be some years before. Prior to 1709, there was no extensive inpouring of Germans into Pennsylvania, and the movement impelling those who came before that time can be generally shown to have emanated from one of two sources, from Crefeld or from Kriegsheim, in both of which towns the Quakers

had established meetings. We naturally look, therefore, to find him coming from the neighborhood of one or the other of them. It needs little imagination to hear the country people about Kriegsheim talking of the great Englishman who had come with the Governor and preached a new creed; to hear them telling of their neighbors, and perhaps kinsmen, who had concluded to leave the Palatinate forever, or to conceive that the curiosity and ambition of a youth approaching manhood would be aroused by wonder stories of the great Province with its strange folk across the sea. Johann Pannebecker, then living in Flomborn, had, with other children, two sons, about whom we have knowledge—Johann Georg, born in 1672, and Werner, born in 1677. Johann Georg, who died in 1746, had two sons—J. Friedrich and Lothar. Friedrich came to Pennsylvania and bought lands in Hanover Township, Philadelphia County, where he was a member of the Reformed Church, at Goshenhoppen, in 1731, and where Hendrick was a land-owner at an earlier period. Lothar followed him in 1749, and bought land in the same neighborhood, in Upper Milford, Bucks County. Now, if Hendrick was another

son of Johann, and the uncle of these two, their later emigration to the same locality is explained. Moreover, a grandson of Hendrick removed to the Valley of Virginia, and a grandson of Friedrich to Kentucky, and the family in Kentucky preserve the tradition that these two were cousins.

Nathan Pennypacker, whose grandfather William was a grandson of Hendrick, and had held his papers, said to me that his grandfather often told him that there were three emigrants of the name closely related, one of whom was not successful. A granddaughter of the Kentucky emigrant, still living, heard him tell in her childhood of his relationship to Matthias, my great-grandfather, then a man of local prominence. If these traditions can be depended upon, they are conclusive of the question. The baptism, in 1710, of the children of Hendrick by a Dutch Reformed minister from one of the congregations in New York, there being then no Reformed minister in Pennsylvania, shows they were all of the same faith. In 1702, William Hoster, of Germantown, bought fifty acres of land there, and soon afterward died, leaving a widow, but without children. The widow married

Isaac Casdorp, who also soon died, and she remained in possession of the property. On the 3d January, 1721, she and Pannebecker sold the land, he acting under a power-of-attorney from Agnes Hoster, the sister of William Hoster and wife of Peter Höchter, of Neustadt. I have always thought that if the home of Hoster could be found abroad, it would afford a clue to that of Pannebecker, because his selection as attorney-in-fact by the sister was in all probability due to previous acquaintance. When in Flomborn, I inquired of a resident whether there were any Hosters living there, and was answered in the negative; that they lived at Oberflorsheim, two miles nearer to Kriegsheim, which was the place of the family *stamm*, or where they had always been known. Our family traditions universally allege that the ancestor was a Hollander. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who knew Pannebecker well, wrote that he was *Niederdeutsch*. He used, however, almost invariably the German script and tongue, though with some Dutch words, as "het" for "the," and the family Bibles are German. If he was born in Flomborn, of Dutch parents, who had been there only about twenty years, these apparent discrepancies



FLOMBORN.

are reconciled. For all of these reasons, in the absence of any fact pointing to another locality, the conclusion that he came to Pennsylvania from Flomborn seems to be fairly established.

In 1699 he married, in Germantown, Eve, the daughter of Hans Peter Umstat, who arrived in Philadelphia in the *Francis and Dorothy*, on October 12, 1685, together with his wife Barbara, his son John, and his daughters Anna Margareta and Eve, and who spent the remainder of his days as a husbandman upon two hundred acres of land in Germantown, toward Plymouth, which land he had bought from Dirck Sipman before leaving Crefeld. He was the son of Nicholas Umstat, who died in Crefeld October 4, 1682. He brought with him a German Bible, published at Heidelberg in 1568, which has now been in the family since 1652, and through nine generations. From it I translate these MS. marginal notes, made by Nicholas and Hans Peter Umstat, in addition to one already given :

“Johannes Philippus Krill gave the Bible to my brother-in-law Matthias Wasselet. He gave it to me 1652.”

"This is a peace text for the Palatinate in the year 1667, February 29."

"These marked words were the last spoken by the Emperor Ferdinand."

"December 16, 1680, the comet star with a long tail was seen the first time."

"October 4, 1682, about 4 o'clock in the morning, our father Nicholas Umstat died."

"February 10, 1696, my daughter Anna Margareta died."

"August 12, 1702, my wife Barbara died."

The comet of 1680, which made so marked an impression upon the mind of Nicholas Umstat that he entered a note of it in his Bible, is the most imposing of all those known. It has a period of about five hundred years, and its coming has always created great commotion and foreboding. I have two copperplate representations and broadside descriptions of it, published in Germany at the time of its appearance in 1680.

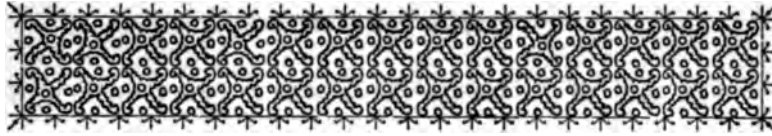
From 1699 until some time in the year 1702 Pannebecker lived in Germantown. A MS. account book, beginning in 1702, of that most learned of American colo-

nists, Francis Daniel Pastorius, who came to Pennsylvania in 1683 as the agent of the Frankfort Company, is still preserved. An entry in the account of Thomas Sute, under date of 3d of 1st mo. (March), 1702, contains a charge of 1s. 6d. "Vor ein Sumons an Heinrich Pannebäcker," and a credit on the 10th of the same month, which I translate: "Henrich Pannebäcker paid me 1s. The 6d. I very willingly forgave him."

In the account with James Delaplaine, on December 22, 1702, there is a charge of 6d. for "Ein warrant vor Nathan Hands contra Henrich Pannebäcker," from which I infer that he had been tempted into treating Nathan with some violence.

There is also an account with Pannebecker, running from 1702 until the time of the death of Pastorius in 1718, but its items are confined entirely to charges and payments for drawing contracts and writing deeds, with reference to Pannebecker's numerous land purchases. The Germanized orthography contained in these entries has been at times followed, but I have recently come into the possession of a deed from Peter Shoemaker to Matthias Van Bebber, executed December 10, 1706, wit-

nessed by Pastorius and Pannebecker, where the name appears "Hendrick Pannebecker." He always wrote it in this way until later in life, when he substituted the English *Henry* for the Dutch *Hendrick*. The chirography of this earliest known signature is worthy of attention, because it is not only good but unusual. The autograph is written in German script, in a back-hand, the letters are small, the hair lines are as fine as though made by a delicately reared young girl, and the capitals show entire command of the pen and ornamental curves which may properly be described as artistic.



CHAPTER III.

GERMANTOWN: TRANSLATIONS OF ORIGINAL
DUTCH LETTERS OF JORIS WERTMULLER,
CORNELIUS BOM AND JACOB TELNER.

LETTER FROM GERMANTOWN IN PENSILVANIA.

MARCH 16, 1684.

THE blessing of the Lord be all times with you,
dearly beloved brother-in-law, Benedict Kunts,
and your household companion and all good friends who
shall inquire for me, and especially all those who are
from the land of Berne. Through the blessing of God I
greet you all very heartily, giving you to know that I
arrived here in good health, and—God be praised!—
find myself still very well, earnestly wishing that I may
receive the same information concerning you.

The city of Philadelphia covers a great stretch of country, and is growing larger and larger. The houses in the country are better built than those within the city. The land is very productive, and raises all kinds of fruits. All kinds of corn are sown. From a bushel of wheat, it is said, you may get 60 or 70, so good is the land. You can keep as many cattle as you wish, and there is provender enough for them, and as many swine as you want, since there are multitudes of oak trees, which produce an abundance of acorns to make them fat, and other wild nuts. You find here householders who have a hundred cows and innumerable hogs, so that a man can have as much pork as he wants. There are all kinds of wild animals, such as deer, roes, etc.; all kinds of birds, some tame and others wild, by the thousand, together with an exceptionally great quantity of fish. The land lies in a good climate, and is very healthy. You seldom see mists or fogs. There are many great and small rivers that are navigable, beautiful springs, fountains, mountains and valleys. The farmers or husbandmen live better than lords. If a workman will only work four or five days in a week, he can live grandly. The farmers here pay no

tithes nor contributions. Whatever they have is free for them alone. They eat the best and sell the worst. You can find as many wild vineyards as you wish, but no one troubles himself to look after their safety or take care of them. The vines bear so many bunches that from one vine many hundred bottles of wine should be made. Handicraftsmen earn here much money, together with their board and drink, which are very good. The natives or Indians are blackish, like the heathen, who through Germany and Holland have disappeared. They are stronger and hardier than the Christians, and very mild. They go almost entirely naked, except that they cover the loins. They use no money, except *kraaltjes* and little shells like those one finds on the bridles of the train horses in Holland. If any one is inclined to come here, let him look for a good shipmaster, since he cannot believe everything that they say. The freight from England to Pensilvania is five pound sterling, about 56 Holland guldens, but I should advise you rather to go with a Holland shipmaster to Manhates, formerly called New Amsterdam, and now New York, two or three days' journey from Pensilvania, and I should advise you to take with

you what you need upon the ship, especially brandy, oranges, lemons, spices and sugar, since the sea may be very trying. See that you are well supplied with clothes and linen, and it will be better than to have money, since what I bought in Holland for 10 guildens I here sold again for 30 guildens; but you must not buy too dear.

I have written to my brother in Amsterdam that he should send me a chest full of clothes. If you, or any one else from the Hague, come here and are willing to bring it along and take care of the transportation, I shall compensate you well for your trouble. So if you bring or send to me here one or two of my sons who are with my brother I shall pay all the costs. If any one can come here in this land at his own expense, and reaches here in good health, he will be rich enough, especially if he can bring his family with him or some man-servants, because servants are here dear. People bind themselves for three or four years' service for a great price, and for women they give more than for men because they are scarce. A good servant can place himself with a master for a hundred guildens a year and board.

Brother-in-law B. K., if you come into these regions



HEIDELBERG BIBLE OF 1668 WITH FAMILY RECORD.

bring a woman with you, and if you bring two for me, Joris Wertmuller, I shall be glad, because then we shall live like lords. My brother, who lives in Amsterdam, is named Jochem Wertmuller. He lives in Ree Street, in the *Three Gray Shoes*. I have many more things to write to you, but time does not permit. Meanwhile I commend you all to God the Father Almighty, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

I, JORIS WERTMULLER, Switzer by birth,
at present in Pensilvania.

N.B.—If any one comes in this land or wishes to write letters, let them be addressed to Cornelius Bom in Pensilvania, in the city of Philadelphia, cake baker, who used to live in Haarlem in Holland, and who came here in the same ship with me and knows where in the country I dwell.

March 16, 1684.

LETTER FROM CORNELIUS BOM, OCTOBER 12, 1684.
Jan Laurens, well beloved friend:

I duly received yours of the 22d of April, 1684, and have read it through with heartfelt pleasure, as an evi-

dence of your love to me and to the Lord. Well, Jan, I have not forgotten you since I have been away from you, but you have many times been in my thoughts. I have not written to you, but remembered you in the letter I sent to Rotterdam. My business has been urgent, and I have had little time for writing many letters. You want to know how it goes with me here, and how I like it, and whether things are prosperous with the people, and you want to learn the condition of the country. Concerning these things I should answer you briefly and truthfully as follows : the country is healthful and fruitful, and the conditions are all favorable for its becoming through the blessing of the Lord and the diligence of men a good land—better than Holland. It is not so good now, but daily grows better and better. The increase here is so great that, I believe, nowhere in history can be found such an instance of growth in a new country. It is as if the doors had been opened for its progress. Many men are coming here from many parts of the world, so that it will be overflowed with the nations. Our Governor's authority is respected by all and is very mild, so that I trust the Lord will bless this land more if we continue to walk in

his way. The people in general have so far been prosperous in their business, so that those who are industrious daily expect to do better and have reason to live in hope; but many have found it hard to get along, especially those who did not bring much with them and those who went into the land to clear it for themselves, and did not go to work for hire by the day. Many of those who have sat down to their trades alone* have had it somewhat hard. Carpenters and masons have got along the best. During the first year or two men spent what they had saved, but now almost everything is improving. As for myself, I went through and endured great difficulties, unaccustomed hardships and troubles before I got as far as I am now, but now I am above many, in good shape, and do not consider that I have less of my own than when I left Holland, and am in all respects very well-to-do. I have here a shop of many kinds of goods and edibles; sometimes I ride out with merchandise and sometimes bring something back, mostly from the Indians, and deal with them in many things. I have no regular servants except one negro whom I bought. I have no rent

* So that people who are far from the city can obtain necessary accommodations.

or tax or excise to pay. I have a cow which gives plenty of milk, a horse to ride around, my pigs increase rapidly, so that in the summer I had seventeen when at first I had only two. I have many chickens and geese and a garden and shall next year have an orchard if I remain well ; so that my wife and I are in good spirits and are reaching a condition of ease and prosperity in which we have great hopes. But when we first came it was pretty hard in many respects. Those who come now come as in the summer in what there is to be done, since now anything can be had for money. The market is supplied with fresh mutton and beef at a reasonable price, in a way that I would not have thought could have occurred in so short a time. Sometimes there is a good supply of partridges for a half stuiver a piece, pigeons, ducks and teals, and fish in great quantities in their seasons. There are not many roads yet made in order to receive from and bring to market, but these things are now beginning to get into order. In a few years, if it continues in the same way, everything here will be more plentiful than in other lands. The commerce and trade are close at the door, to the Barbadoes, Bermudas and other West India

Islands that will bring this country into a good condition. Time will best show this to be the case. Nevertheless I do not advise any one to come here.* Those who come ought to come after Christian deliberation, with pure intentions in fear of the Lord, so that the Lord may be their support, for before a man here reaches ease he must exercise great patience, resignation and industry, the one as much as the others. Therefore, whoever comes, let him come with a constant mind, having his eyes fixed upon the commands of the God above him. This none can do except those who have the Lord with them in the matter and so are cleansed from fleshly and worldly views and they have good counsel by them in all things. If it is hard for them, if trials come, they look to the Lord and are clear in themselves, so that to them all things are for the best. For my own part I have no regrets that I

* And in this he acts wisely and with foresight, for how could any one in such a matter, especially if unrequested, give advice: for it may happen to one well, to another badly, and no one affair, land, place, state or manner of living is equally pleasant to all. It is not a vain proverb which says an affair may be equally open to all men but the outcome be very different. So that he who such a journey undertakes does well to consider whether he is able to endure the possibilities of failure as well as of success.

came here, but all the while have had a good hope that everything was sent for my good, and being clear before the Lord that I have had no views which displeased him, and having faith in the great God over the sea and the land. He has not forgotten me, but has shown his fatherly care over me and mine. Truly, he is a God over those who are upright of heart and looks upon many of their weaknesses leniently.

So, my dearly beloved friend, not knowing whether I shall see your face in the flesh again, I take my leave of you for the present in the tender love of our Father who has shown his love for us through his son, the true light through which he daily seeks to unite us with him. O great love of our God! O let us not forget or think little of him, but daily answer him by submitting ourselves to his wishes and the power of his mercy which he shows to us! O let us hold him here in love, and above all remember him and cling to him! O that we might daily perceive, that our hearts more and more cling to the Lord! That we still more and more might be united with him in that his spirit might witness that we are his children, and so his heirs! Then shall

we be able to say with the Apostle Paul that we know whenever this earthly house is broken, we have a building with God everlasting in heaven. O great cause, worthy of consideration above all causes !

So, true friend, I commend you to the Lord and to his word of mercy, which is mighty to build up you and me to the end. So, with my love, I remain your unchangeable friend.

CORNELIUS BOM.

In Philadelphia, the 12th of October, 1684.

Here are, it is supposed, four hundred houses great and small.

INFORMATION FROM JACOB TELNER, OF AMSTERDAM.

Jacob Telner writes to me that he supposes there are many who are desirous of knowing how he and his family are and how it has fared with them, and requesting me to inform such persons briefly out of his letters. He says that they have had a long and a hard voyage (that is to say, to New York, hitherto New Amsterdam); that they were twelve weeks under way, others having

made the trip in five, six, or seven weeks ; that they had very contrary winds and calms ; that they therein found and experienced remarkably the presence and protection of the Lord ; that on their arrival they were received by all their acquaintances with much love and affection ; that his wife has now forgotten the hardships of the sea ; that he found it a very pleasant country, overflowing with everything (that is to say, in New York, where he was), where people can live much better and with less expense than in Holland ; that if men are industrious in what they undertake, and live in a Christian manner, they need not work many days in the week ; that he had heard a good report of Pennsylvania ; and that there was a very wonderful increase in the production of everything in proportion to the time, although it was impossible in the short time to have things as abundant as in New York ; that when he went to Pennsylvania he hoped to give a true report of everything there. Since then he made a journey there, and has again returned to New York. He writes, December 12, 1684, that he found a beautiful land with a healthy atmosphere, excellent fountains and springs running through it, beautiful trees from which

can be obtained better firewood than the turf of Holland, and that in all things it might be considered an exceptionally excellent land, and that those who belittle it are unworthy of attention; that Philadelphia grows rapidly, having already several hundred houses of stone and wood, and cottages; that he, with his family, intends to move there in the spring, and further, that he is very well, and that his wife, and especially his daughter, are in good health and fat.



CHAPTER IV.

THE SETTLEMENT ON THE SKIPPACK—PANNEBECKER'S REMOVAL—THE MENNONITE CHURCH—ITS ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

IN the year 1702 Pannebecker removed from Germantown to the Skippack, a small stream bearing an Indian name, which empties into the Perkiomen, and is the first water-course reached in going northward after leaving the Wissahickon, and there, about two miles from the present village of Evansburg, he spent the remaining half century of his life.

On the 11th of June, 1683, William Penn sold one thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania to Jacob Isaacs Van Bebber, a Mennonite in creed and a baker by occupation then living in Crefeld. He sent his son Isaac to Germantown the following year, and crossed the



SKIPPACK.

ocean himself with his son Matthias in 1687. They were undoubtedly people of means and influence in Europe. On the 22d of February, 1702, Matthias Van Bebber had located by patent on the Skippack 6,166 acres, which he had secured by numerous purchases and established a settlement there mainly of Mennonites, the first outgrowth of Germantown and long afterward known as Bebber's Township. The purchasers from him were Hendrick Pannebecker and his brother-in-law Johannes Umstat, Johannes Kuster, Klas Jansen and Jan Krey, in 1702; John Jacobs, in 1704; John Newberry, Thomas Wiseman, Edward Beer, Gerhard and Hermann In de Hoffen, Dirck and William Renberg, in 1706; William and Cornelius Dewees, Hermannus Kuster, Christopher Zimmerman, Johannes Scholl and Daniel Desmond, in 1708; Jacob, Johannes, and Martin Kolb and Andrew Strayer, in 1709; Solomon Dubois, in 1716; Paul Fried, in 1727, and in the last year all the unsold remainder of the tract and the entire interest of Van Bebber was bought by Pannebecker, who had become the leading spirit in the affairs of this rural community. Van Bebber, who had made a trip to Holland

in 1701 and returned to Philadelphia in 1702, remained in that city until 1704, when he and his elder brother Isaac removed to Bohemia Manor, Maryland. There he became a Justice of the Peace, and is described in the deeds as a merchant and a gentleman. Their descendants soon fell away from the simple ways and peaceful Mennonite creed of their fathers. In 1764, Jacob Van Bebber became a Judge of the Supreme Court of Delaware. The Van Bebbers of Maryland have been distinguished in all the wars and at the bar, and at the Falls of Kanawha a crag jutting out at a great height over the river still preserves the memory and recalls the exploits of a later Matthias Van Bebber, who was one of the most daring Indian fighters of western Virginia and the cherished friend and companion of Daniel Boone. Both of the sons of that noted Kentucky hero married women of the name of Van Bebber. In 1717, Matthias Van Bebber conveyed by a deed, which Pannebecker witnessed, a hundred acres of land in Bebber's Township to Henry Sellen, Claus Jansen, Henry Kolb, Martin Kolb, Jacob Kolb, Michael Ziegler and Hermannus Kuster, as trustees "for the benefit, use and behoof of the poor of

the said people called Mennonisten in Bebbber's Township aforesaid forever, and for a place to erect a meeting house for the use and service of the said people and for a place to bury their dead, as also for all and every the inhabitants of the said Bebbber's Township to build a school house, and fence in a sufficient burying place." It will be observed that while the meeting house was to be reserved for the use of the Mennonites, and that while the trustees were all of that sect, the burying ground and the school house were intended for the benefit of all in the settlement. It was in this house that Christopher Dock, who wrote the first American treatise upon school teaching, and whose life and work have been made known only within a few years through my own sketches, and have attracted wide attention among persons interested in pedagogy, taught his school from 1718 until 1771, and it was in this house that he was found on his knees dead.

The people of Skippack and "adjacent plantations," June 2, 1713, presented a petition to the court, saying that "pretty many families are already settled and probably not a few more to settle" in that neighborhood,

but that no road had yet been laid out and that "what paths have been hitherto used are only upon suffrance and liable to be fenced up," and asking that a road or cartway be established "from the upper end of said Township down to the wide marsh or Farmers' Mill." The result of this petition was the laying out of the Skip-pack Road, and there is reason to believe that the surveys for it were made by Pannebecker. There can be little question that the signatures to this petition give a fairly complete list of the residents at that time. They were Dirk Rosenberry, Peter Wentz, Lorentz Sweitzer, Jacob Kolb, Gerhard Dehaven, John Krey, Peter Bon, James Been, Johannes Umstat, Thomas Kentworthy, Martin Kolb, Henry Kolb, Peter Sellen, Herman In de Hoffen, Jacob Gaetschalk, Henry Frey, Abraham Le Fevre, Matthias Tyson, William Renberg, Claus Jansen, Gerhard Clements, Andrew Schrager, Henry Pannebecker, Johannes Kolb, Herman Kuster, Johannes Scholl, Jacob Op de Graff, Daniel Dismont and John Newberry. The Township, under the name of Skippack and Perkiomen, was regularly laid out and surveyed in 1725. I presume the survey was made by Pannebecker,

and at all events he circulated and secured the signatures to a petition setting forth the difficulties under which the constables, collectors, supervisors of the highways, and other officers had previously labored, and asking that the boundaries be confirmed. The signatures, several of which beside his own were written by him, presumably because of the incapacity to write of some of the persons interested, were as follows: Klas Jansen, Johan Umstat, Peter Bon, Henry Pannebecker, Hermannus Kuster, Paulus Frid, Johannes Van Fossen, Johannes Friedt, Hans Tetweiller, Jacob Scheimer, Paul Friedt, Willem Weierman, Nicolas H——st, Henrich Kolb, Martin Kolb, Jacob Kolb, Jacob Merckley, Arnold Vanfossen, Isaac Dubois, Huppert Kassel, John Pawling, John Jacobs, Richard Jacob, Michael Ziegler, Christoph Dock, Hans Vollweiller, Valentin Hunsicker, Richard Göbel, Matthias Teissen, Arnold Van Vossen, Jacob Op de Graff, George Merckle, Daniel Deesmont and Peter Jansen.

Jacob Godschalk, the preacher at the Mennonite church in the Skippack settlement, and whose name appears among the signers of the petition for laying out the Skippack Road, may properly be regarded as one of

the earliest of the writers of Pennsylvania local history. In the year 1773 the Mennonites in Holland, anxious to get information concerning the condition of the churches here, wrote, making a number of definite inquiries. An answer was sent March 1, 1773, by Andrew Ziegler, son of Michael Ziegler, of Skippack ; Isaac Kolb, son of Jacob Kolb, and of Sarah, daughter of Isaac Van Sintern ; and Christian Funk, son of Henry Funk, of Indian Creek. This letter I bought some years ago at a sale of autographs in Holland. It is written in the Dutch language, and embodies an account of the origin of the Mennonite churches at Germantown and Skippack by Godschalk, the only complete and accurate narrative we have, together with many quaint facts and observations concerning that early period, and is now for the first time translated :

SCHIPPAK, INDIAN KRIK, AND BLEN,
PHILADELPHIA COUNTY.

MARCH 1, 1773.

With friendly greeting to our true and much beloved colleagues and brethren, Wynand Peter Wynands, Wopke Molenaar, and Sino Van Abema, at Crefeld, as

well as Johannes Cuperus, at Utrecht, together with all members of the community there, wish we all imaginable temporal blessings, but most of all everlasting happiness through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Briefly we inform you that we have safely received your welcome letter with the Name List of our Community and Preachers in Europe from our friend Christian Laetschet, and also we see with great joy and heartfelt pleasure your affection and love therein, as we fully believe and trust. It must, indeed, delight children of a rich father, and especially where each believes that they are to receive one and the same love and to expect one and the same inheritance, when they meet together; and, so that nothing may happen, count up in writing the great treasures and riches. How much more do we rejoice to have a mutual love and delight in the great love of our common Father and King for us poor sinful men, shown in His Son Jesus Christ, in whose blood we are washed and through whose sufferings we are reconciled to the Father! By which means he himself has established one community. Therefore has he, as he was about to go to his Father, said to his Apostles, or commanded them

through the authority he had received from his Father in heaven and upon earth, that they should go out in the whole world and preach the Gospel to all men, baptizing those who believed and in their lives maintained what he had commanded them. And love is not the least, but the greatest command.

Therefore, we trust that love for us is the cause of your recent inquiry concerning our religious community in America, in order to learn who have come out of Europe into our land ; the time when ; how they have arrived here ; when the first Mennonites, or defenceless Doopsgezinde Christians have settled in this part of the world ; how they from time to time have progressed ; how many they are in number, and other things more. Love compels us to comply with your request as well as we can, but there are serious difficulties which prevent us from doing it very speedily.

In the first place, we are unlearned people and very deficient in writing. We have only so much learned that we are scarcely in a state to make memoranda for ourselves, and of orderly and skilled composition we know nothing. So that, so far as it is sought to know concern-

ing the great and mighty things of the world, we dare not undertake to comply ; but in what concerns the Brethren we shall, with entire willingness of heart, do the best we can. Still, as has been said, there are many causes which make it difficult for us to do, the principal one of which is that our forefathers have left little or nothing in writing of the origin and progress of our communities. They came poor into the country, and were compelled through hard labor to seek to secure the means of livelihood, and there was little time left for writing and making records of events. Even our preachers have devoted themselves at all times, and the talents they have received from the good God, to serve the communities with all willingness, without receiving for it the least compensation, so that they find it very necessary to give every unoccupied hour to the performance of their duties. There are still other causes: our communities in this country are scattered over two or three hundred miles, and we dwell, so to speak, at one end of the land, where our congregation, as well as that at Germantown, had its commencement. This is the information we have from a certain short account written by one of the first ministers

of our community, named Jacob Godschalks, born in the land of Cleev, in a city called Gog. "The beginning or origin," thus run the words of the above said Jacob Godschalks, "of the community of Jesus Christ here at Germantown, who are called Mennonites (Doopsgezinde), took its rise in this way, that some friends out of Holland, and other places in Germany, came here together, and although they did not all agree, since at this time the most were still Quakers, nevertheless they found it good to have exercises together; but in doing it they were to be regarded as sheep who had no shepherd, and since they still had no preachers, they endeavored to instruct one another. In the year 1690 more friends from Crefeld and elsewhere came into the land, who were also of our Brethren, and added themselves to us and attended our exercises in the house of Isac Jacobs.* These last-mentioned friends, with the first, found it good, or judged it better for the building up of the community, to choose by a unanimity of votes a preacher and some deacons. Thereupon was Willem Ruttinghausen, born in Mongouer land, chosen preacher, and Jan Neues, of Creveld,

* Isaac Jacobs Van Bebber.

as deacon, and the first-named then entered upon the performance of his duties. On the 8th of October, 1702, they undertook a second election of two preachers, and Jacob Godschalks, from Gog, and Hans Neues, from Creveld, were chosen preachers. These two last mentioned at first served the community by reading, but afterward a difficulty arose between Hans Neues and Arnold Van Vossen, and, since the first thought that he was wronged, he separated himself from the community and did not again unite with it. In the year 1707, some Brethren came to us out of the Palatinate, who for a whole year kept by themselves. The 18th of February, 1708, the first chosen preacher, Willem Ruttinghausen, died, to the great regret of the community. Since now Jacob Godschalks alone served the community, and the Brethren from the Palatinate had united with us, they considered it necessary to choose, besides, three men as deacons and overseers, which happened the 22d of March, 1708, and there were chosen Isac Van Sinteren, Hendrik Kassel and Coenrad Janz. A month afterward (April 20th), there were besides two preachers chosen—to wit: Herman Casdorp and Martin Kolb. After that we re-

mained some time living in good peace. Meanwhile, some persons presented themselves, in order to be taken into the community through baptism, whereupon the community, then consisting of thirty-three members including the preachers and deacons, having consulted together, ordered that the request of these persons should be complied with, and accordingly the administration of this rite was conducted by Jacob Godschalks and water baptism performed the first time in this land, May 9, 1708. The persons to whom baptism was administered were eleven in number, and our community was increased to forty-five members. The 23d of May we celebrated the suffering and death of our Saviour by observing the Lord's Supper as instituted by the Apostles. In 1709, some more Brothers and Sisters came to us out of the Palatinate, so that on the 6th of April, 1712, our community at Germantown, and thence extending to Schip-pak, was so increased that we had ninety-nine members."

So far goes the narrative of Jacob Godschalks concerning the origin and growth of the Mennonites in Pennsylvania. For the further spreading of our community in the year 1717, many more of our fellow-

believers came to us from Germany, among whom were some preachers or ministers of the Lord, to-wit: Bens Brechbiel, Johannes Borchhalter, Valentine Klemmer, and others who had been confirmed as ministers. Up to the year 1740, in almost every year, in some more and in some less, have our fellow-believers come to us, the most of those who accepted our confession of faith from the Palatinate, Sweebruggen, Elzas, Upper Rhine and Switzerland. Our community, by God's blessing, has been cared for by such ministers as the Apostle Paul describes, who have administered baptism and the Lord's Supper, and they are now so numerous that we are not in a position to designate them accurately. We cannot designate how many ministers nor how many communities, but according to our calculations there are at least eighteen confirmed ministers and fifty communities, some of which have more than one hundred and fifty members. But this is not a certain count, and there are also many of them which are not so strong.

Your request goes further, and if the Lord keeps us alive we may yet, in the course of time, be in a situation to give you more specific information.

The reasons that have induced so many of our fellow-

believers to come to us are various. It can be given as one reason that William Penn, the lord of this land, having received great freedom from the King of Great Britain, made it known to people everywhere. Now, in many places in Europe, the inhabitants were not only hard pressed by being compelled to pay heavy taxes, but also they did not enjoy sufficient freedom to serve God according to the considerations of their conscience. And so many preferred to undertake the difficult and long journey to come to us.

Upon coming into this country, they not only enjoy great freedom, but also find that the land is fruitful and that everything of which a farmer has need it produces to overflowing—if he will only work. We have no want of food or raiment, and there are among us even people who are rich. Some, in writing these things to their friends in Europe, and others who have made the journey to Germany for merchandise, have much—yes, too much—extolled the country and given such inducements that many have come here for worldly profit. Other reasons we pass by. So far in answer to your first two questions.

The third question concerns the various opinions of

our fellow-believers. With regard to our confession of faith, our forefathers have taken the articles adopted on the 21st of April, 1632, at Dordrecht, in Holland, and outside of these we have held to no human regulations, but have taught simply those of the Holy Scriptures and what may further God's honor and man's happiness. And it is to be wished that we may honor the same by our life and walk as our Saviour teaches. "Let your light so shine before men," etc.; and the Apostle Peter says: "Add to your faith, virtue," etc.

As to the Amisch, they are many in number; but they are not here near us, and we can give no further information concerning them except only this, that they hold very fast to the outward and ancient institutions.

Concerning the former question as to how many communities there are, we have answered above that we are not in a situation to give definitely the number of our own; and as to the Amisch, we also do not know in what places they dwell among us. However, we shall give you a short account of where ours dwell, namely: Germantown, Schiepack, Indian Krik, Tipron,* Blen,†

* Deep Run.

† Plain.

Grooten Schwamb,* Lowischenhoff and Schulkiel. This is the region of country where we dwell. Further away are Canestogis, where are very many and large congregations; Quitophila, great and little Schwattara, Tolpehokin, on the other side of the river Susquehana by Yorktown; great and little Conewago, Mannakesie, to Virginia, Meriland, Schanatore,† and further to Carolina, where are many and large congregations.

Concerning the question how we support ourselves and gain a livelihood, this serves for answer that the most of us are farmers and follow trades. So far as we know, no one among us has yet gone into the business of merchandise carried on by means of ships upon the sea. Our congregations increase rather than diminish. Through God's mercy we enjoy unlimited freedom in both civil and religious affairs. We have never been compelled to bear weapons. With yea and nay we can all testify before our praiseworthy magistrates. We accept no office under the Government because force is used therein. Besides, it is not found good among us that any member of the community

* Great Swamp.

† Shenandoah.

should openly, much less secretly, keep an alehouse or inn, because it leads to a great number of irregularities. Concerning marriage, it is not approved nor permitted that any one should marry outside of the community, and in case it occurs, the person, whether Brother or Sister, is notified to withdraw from the fellowship, the brotherly council, the kiss of peace, and the Lord's Supper, until they have made expiation to the community. You further ask whether we have books with Confessions of Faith, and in what number? In the first place, we recognize the Holy Scriptures, especially the Evangelists, for our chief rule. Besides, we have the writings of Menno Simons, in German and Dutch; also, the "Martyr's Mirror," of T. J. van Braght, in the German language, which has been printed here in folio, and the "Golden Apples;" the above-mentioned "Confession of Faith" in the German, Dutch and English languages, and many other books which our old preachers have published and left behind for us, as Joost Hendricks, Willem Wynands, Jacob Denner and many others. For the present the Scripture is preached in the German language in all of our congregations; and in the most

with great care, reverence and love, as the Apostle directs.

The fifth question we cannot answer, because we dwell far apart, and few can undertake the task to write to other preachers, and to many of them writing is troublesome, and because your request would only cause many of us to consider whether we would not commit a sin if we should undertake to count the people. Look at the history of King David. Still we regard you with complete love, and believe that you have no other thought and seek no other end than to honor the Almighty God and Father, through his blessing and mercy that so many souls believing in his Son Jesus Christ and obeying them, have been found dwelling in places that might be regarded as the farthest ends of the earth. Although the counting of the people has been mentioned, we shall not neglect to endeavor to secure further and better information in order to strengthen our faith and increase our love.

In order to put our exchange of letters upon a sure footing, as it may not be sufficiently safe to send them to Crefeld, it is important that you give us the name of a man in Rotterdam, to whom we may direct our communi-

cations. The letters you write to us may be addressed to Andreas Ziegler in Schiepak, under care of David Deschler, merchant, in Philadelphia, or Johannes Wüster there, and they will come all right. We are inclined, with all our ability, to serve you to the extent of our little capacity. We hope you will give us some information concerning the ordinances in your communities; also concerning marriage, whether it is conducted by you otherwise than it is by us; and what is the custom with respect to the Lord's Supper, whether the bread is broken and distributed by the preachers, and whether the members receive the bread all sitting at one table; also, information as to whether you keep up the observance of foot washing, and what are your ordinances with regard to the choosing of preachers, whether they are chosen out of the congregation, and whether the whole congregation take part in it?

Since, as has been said, we are a simple people and unaccustomed to writing and in many other things unskilled, we should like to ask what the letters mean upon the picture of preacher Gerhardus Van Hyningen at Amsterdam, which stand thus: "A. L. M. & Ph.D.,"

and what is meant by the word *Emeritus*. Further, we should like to know whether there is any division between you and the Waterlanders and Frisians, and whether there is any division between the above-mentioned and the United Flemish and Waterlanders, and in what the division consists, and if there is a division whether they seek to bear themselves toward each other with love?*

In conclusion, we again heartily greet you and ask you to accept our poor composition in love. Let us ask God, the father of love, for wisdom, understanding and knowledge that all may be in furtherance of his praise and the welfare of the community, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Meanwhile we remain, united in love, your Brethren and fellow-preachers,

ANDREAS ZIEGLER,
ISAC KOLB,
CHRISTIAN FUNK.

Herewith follow the names of the preachers, both when they were selected and confirmed, so far as we know them at this time. In the following arrangement

* These queries contain a gentle suggestion that the correspondents abroad are assuming the vanities of the world.

each separation makes one community. To the community at Schiepak belong also Germanton and Matetschen. The preachers are:

Andreas Ziegler, chosen 1746, confirmed May 30, 1762.

Jacob Schumacher, " 1746.

Hendk. Kolb, " 1752.

Dielman Kolb, " 1752.

Indian Krik and Blen, to which belong also Solford Rakkill and Schwamin, where the preachers are:

Isac Kolb, chosen 1744, confirmed 1761.

Christian Funk, " 1756, " 1769.

Samuel Bechtel.

Jacob Landis.

Jacob Funk.

Abraham Gehman.

Diep Ron, to which belong Berkosen on the river Delaware and Anfrieds. The preachers are:

Abraham Schwartz, chosen 1738, confirmed 1756.

Abraham Landis, " 1758.

Jacob Meyer, " 1758.

Samuel Meyer, " 1769.

Grooten Schwamb, to which belong Sackem,* Lower Milford in two places, Hosensak, Lehay and Term. The preachers are :

Jacob Meyer, chosen 1752, confirmed 1763.

Hendk. Funk, “ 1768.

Hendk. Bär, “ 1771.

Peter Meyer, “ 1773.

George Akerman.

Michael Moselman.

Schulkiel. Meetings are held there in three places, but there is only one community. The preachers are :

Martin Bächtel, chosen 1739, confirmed 1758.

David Langeneker.

Joseph Showalter.

Johannes Langeneker, chosen 1772.

Of Cannestogis† and the surrounding places, we will only give a few preachers and their names, and in course of time will endeavor to prepare a more circumstantial

* Saucon.

† Conestoga.

account. For the present, we will only give these confirmed preachers:

Bens Hirsch.

Bens Schantz.

Martin Böhm.

Tobias Kryter.

Friedrich Kauffman.

Michael Kauffman.

Hans Schantz, junior.

Other preachers are the following, though probably not more than one-sixth of them, since, as we hear, meetings are held in more than forty places. The names of the preachers whom we know are:

Johan Bär.

Johan Herp.

Christian Hirschel.

Bens Hirschel, junior.

Martin Huber.

Here ends this important communication.

Genealogists and students in local affairs will be interested in learning that to the people of this settlement

and to the same period of time we owe the preparation of our earliest Pennsylvania genealogy. In 1771, Gysbert Van der Smissen, of Altona, was engaged in the compilation of a genealogy of the descendants of Jan de Voss, a burgomaster at Handschooten, in Flanders, about 1550, and among them was a great-grandson, Isaac Van Sintern, born September 4, 1662, who came with his four daughters to Germantown after 1687, and died at Skip-pack August 23, 1737. In order to aid Van der Smissen in his efforts, Magdalena Van Sintern, then the widow of Martin Kolb and in her sixty-sixth year, made out a record of five hundred and ten of the descendants of her father and sent it to Holland. Among them were the children of Weyand, son of Friedrich Pannebecker, who married a granddaughter of Van Sintern, and many of the other families of that region.



SARAH PENNYPACKER WALKER.

MATTHIAS - JACOB - HENDRICK

Nearest in descent of whom there is a portrait.



CHAPTER V.

PANNEBECKER'S LAND PURCHASES—A COLONIAL GHOST STORY.

PANNEBECKER'S purchases of land were extensive, and, so far as I have been able to ascertain them from the records which because of the carelessness about the recording of deeds in the early time are not complete, were as follows :

	1702, From Matthias Van Bebber	200 (?)	
June,	1708, From Matthias Van Bebber	204	acres.
2 mo. 24,	1712, From the Proprietaries	500	"
2 mo. 24,	1712, From the Proprietaries	152	"
1 mo. 3,	1719, From the Proprietaries	500	"
Oct. 1,	1723, From the Proprietaries	200	"
Jan. 10,	1727, From L. C. Sprogel, in Hanover To.	260	"
Feb. 26,	1727, From Syche Krey and Derrick Up de Graff, Executors of John Krey	160	"

Sept. 1, 1727, By Patent	622	acres.
Mar. 21, 1729, From N. Scull in Salford To.	37½	"
June 11, 1729, From Cornelius Siverts in Telner's To.	586½	"
Remainder from M. Van Bebber	240	"

He further owned in Salford Township:

1724	200	"
1728	150	"
	<hr/>	
	4,012	"

The present village of Harleysville, Montgomery County, is built upon ground which formerly belonged to him. Upon the plantation owned by him in Upper Hanover, subsequently occupied by Frederick Reimer, there appeared, in 1738, if we may give credit to the veracious chronicles of the time, a veritable ghost. The story of the apparition was well authenticated by the testimony of witnesses, and received general and respectable credence. The report which I translate appeared in the *Erscheinungen der Geister*, published by Saur in Germantown in 1755, and was reproduced in the *Geistliche Fama* at Berlenburg in Germany:

"A certain account of what happened in the year 1738, in the week before Easter, here in Pennsylvania, in Falckner's Swamp, on Mr. Frederick Reimer's place.

Four years before a day laborer died there, who used to cut straw and make thatch. When Frederick Reimer came upon the place his little nine-year-old daughter, who it seems has the gift of seeing ghosts, saw this dead man many times. Once she saw him sitting on a stump, again she saw him standing in the garden beside neighbor Sieber's maid, watching her pull up parsnips. Another time she saw him sitting on the thatched roof of the barn. He pulled wisps of straw from the roof and threw them left and right, but since it made no hole she told her people, for she did not then know it was a ghost. But one time when her father was away from home her older sister, who was then seventeen years old, told her that if she would question the man she would go with her. The older sister could neither see nor hear the ghost, so they went together to the man, and the older sister told the child all that she should say and ask. First she asked, 'What are you doing? What do you want?' He said, speaking with a deep voice as if out of a cave: 'I have a long time waited for you to deliver me, for you can do it.' She asked: 'From what shall I deliver you?' He answered: 'I came here five

years ago, and in Holland borrowed of a woman thirty gulden and did not pay her. If any one pays it for me I can rest in peace.' She asked: 'Has the woman a husband?' He answered: 'Yes.' She asked: 'What is his name?' He said: 'Steinmann.' She asked: 'Can't your wife deliver you?' He said: 'No.' She asked: 'Why not?' He answered: 'Because she is my wife.' She asked: 'Could you not have said something about it before you died?' He said: 'No, because I died so soon.' She asked: 'Will you be free hereafter if it is paid?' He answered: 'Yes.' Then the child, at the suggestion of her sister, said: 'We will pay it.' Whereupon he seemed to be very joyful, and started to run across the field. She asked: 'Where are you going?' He said: 'In my house.' She asked: 'Where is your house?' He answered: 'Come and I will show it to you.' And he ran so fast that the child saw the yellow soles of his feet raised up high behind. She said: 'Wait a little; we will go with you.' He waited awhile and then ran the same way. As he ran to the brook he held his arm over the hedges and bushes, and the girls saw that they bent as if pressed down by the arm. When he came to the

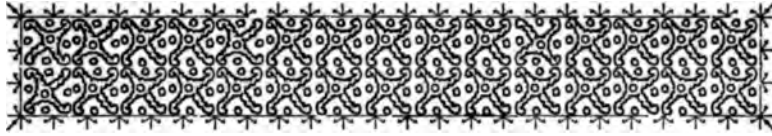
burying place on Sieber's land he slipped under through the fence. There was his grave, with a hole in it, and she saw him no more.

“During the time that the child spoke with him she noticed that he had on both sides of his mouth, like two little red plugs hanging out, and she thought it gave him pain and hindered him from speaking. Since sometimes she did not understand him correctly, she asked him the second and the third time, and when her sister told her to ask still again, she said it would be wrong to ask him the same thing so often. Her sister then pressed her close to him so that she could understand, and she was so near to him that she thought she trod upon his winding sheet, since this time he appeared in the way in which he was laid in the box. The neighbors remembered that when they laid him in the box the cap fell from his head, and so they drew the pall over his head, and this was the way she saw him this time. Before she had seen him many times in his ordinary dress. The child never saw him in life, because she had only lately come to the place, and it accorded in all things, the neighbors said, with the way he appeared and was

dressed. The child further said that he could not stand still.

“The neighbors say that such a man four years before was there taken sick, on the second day lost his speech, and on the fourth day died. They went to his wife, but she denied the debt; others, however, who came over the sea with them said they had heard that this man and his wife quarrelled with the woman to whom the money belonged and denied getting it, and she wished the man much evil and that he should have no quiet after his death. The neighbors tried to find this woman, but did not succeed, and they thought that since the ghost had such a low voice and spoke out of the sheet, the child did not get the man’s name right. Still, we hear, he has never been seen since.”

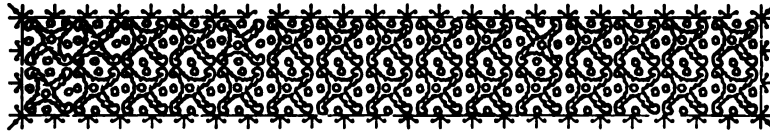
The older sister of the two who had this remarkable experience became the wife of John Herger, and tradition adds that the ghost asked the child for her hand and that she extended her apron, which he grasped. This apron, with the piece burned out of it, was preserved by Mrs. Koons, the only daughter of Mrs. Herger, and remained in the family.



CHAPTER VI.

PANNEBECKER AS A SURVEYOR—THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AT THE SWAMP.

THOUGH owning and cultivating a farm upon the Skippack, Pannebecker's chief occupation was that of a surveyor of lands, an occupation whose importance at a time when the country was being settled, was exemplified in the careers of both Wayne and Washington. He was the first and, so far as known, the only surveyor among the early Dutch-German emigrants. From what has been discovered of the number and extent of his surveys, it is no exaggeration to assert that most of the manors, roads and townships of that period in Philadelphia County were laid out by him. His familiarity with three languages, Dutch, German and English, doubtless proved to be of great advantage to him and to those



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requiring his services, and in the performance of his work, at a time when land afforded almost the only opportunity for investment, he was brought into relations of acquaintance, if not of friendship, not only with the Penns, but with the leading men of Philadelphia and throughout the province.

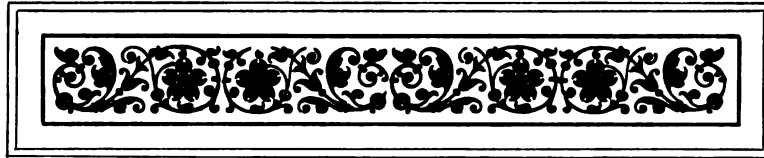
Upon a draft in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania of the Proprietary's Manor of Williamstadt, containing ten thousand acres and including the present borough of Norristown, which draft was a copy of one prepared by Thomas Fairman, who made a resurvey for William Penn, Jr., in 1704, there is a representation of a large tree, on a line between the Manors of Williamstadt and Gilberts, with the statement: "This is the tree I suppose wch Pannebecker shew'd me in 9br 1725 mark'd W. P." The inference is that Pannebecker ran the original line between the manors, and, perhaps, in the presence of the founder, whose initials were cut upon the tree.

Of the twenty-five thousand acres of land purchased by the Frankfort Company, twenty-two thousand three hundred and seventy-seven were laid out in a tract at

Manatawney, near the present borough of Pottstown, and in 1708, together with the lands of the company at Germantown, they, by means which will be found set forth in detail in my "Pennsylvania Colonial Cases," came into the possession of John Henry Sprogel. This man, whose career in Pennsylvania was of importance and was made the subject of many animadversions by Pastorius, was born February 12, 1679. His father, an eminent author and clergyman of the same name, was at the head of a seminary at Quedlinburg. His mother was a daughter of the celebrated composer of music, Michael Wagner, and Godfried Arnold, the church historian who wrote the "Kirchen und Ketzer Historie," still a leading authority upon the subject, married his sister. He came to Pennsylvania in 1706. The Lutheran people near the Swamp in New Hanover Township, in 1719, "having associated themselves into an Ecclesiastical Community, determined to purchase a piece of land whereon they might erect a place of worship and a Grave Yard for burying their dead, and it so happening that John Henry Sprogel, one of their Community and Persuasion, being at that time possessed of a large Quantity of land in these parts, did

willingly make a True Gift and Donation of Fifty acres of his Land, appropriating the same for the use and behoof of the said Lutheran Community forever, Requesting the said Community to build a Church, a School-house, a Graveyard and what other suitable Conveniences they thought proper." He requested Henry Pannebecker to lay out and survey fifty acres for the purpose, which survey was completed April 17, 1719, and George Boone to prepare a deed, but through some neglect this important paper was never executed. The Lutherans entered into possession, raised a contribution among themselves, built a church and a school-house, and had them completely finished in 1721. About the same year, becoming more numerous and the congregation being too large for the building, they raised another contribution and erected a larger church and school-house "far preferable to the former." In 1746, they awoke to a knowledge of the fact that Sprogel was dead, and that "owing to the Sloath and Neglect of the Elders and Church wardens" they had no title except as it was shown by Sprogel's conveyance of other lands described as adjoining those of the Church. Henry Pannebecker, Valentine Geiger,

George Jerger, Johanna Christiana Sprogel, widow of John Henry Sprogel, Jr., John Frederick Richards and Anna Elizabeth Hoppin, sister of Sprogel and a widow, February 10, 1746, united in a certificate of these facts, and, appearing before John Potts, one of his Majesty's justices, declared they were "Real Truth." Upon this paper the title depends, and to the happy carelessness of the elders we owe the preservation of the history of the origin of the Lutheran Church at the Swamp.



CHAPTER VII.

DISCOVERY OF COPPER—MINING ALONG THE SCHUYLKILL.

IN the year 1720 copper was discovered in the country along the Schuylkill, and the event caused considerable commotion in the Province. Among those interested in the subject was Sprogel, who went to the expense of bringing from Europe an educated chemist and smelter, named Gotthilff Marchelitta, and skilled miners for the purpose of developing the mines. Roger Edmonds, who married the daughter of N. Puckle, believing that the recently discovered copper was on land belonging to his wife, organized a company in Philadelphia, with a view to getting others associated with him, in pretty much the same way that such schemes are furthered nowadays. James Logan, the agent of the proprietors,



HON. ISAAC. S. PENNYBACKER.

United States Senator from Virginia.

believed that the copper was on the land of Richard Pike, and, in the name of Pike, endeavored to make a compromise with the company on the terms that in any event each was to have a one-fourth interest. This plan failed, and the company employed a lawyer. Logan, then, with the keenness of a man of affairs, saying that possession "is no small point in so disputable a case," wrote, April 20, 1723, to his friends, Woodlow and Lane, who lived in the neighborhood: "I, therefore, advise you immediately to take possession of the place by my orders, in behalf of Rd. Pike, with whom I shall make terms for you, and use your utmost industry, by the help of H. Pannebecker—who is the only person living, I believe, who can give you any certain evidence in the case—to fix the land to the true owner by means of ye original surveys, wch, without living witnesses, will be found somewhat perplexed in the office."

An account of these Pennsylvania mining operations appeared in a folio volume, now of great rarity, published at Braunschweig, in Germany, in 1727, and, since it contains complete and most valuable information, and has not hitherto been known here, I translate it entire. When

our investigators, ceasing to confine themselves to England, broaden their scope and examine the sources of information existing on the Continent, a flood of new light will be thrown upon the history of Pennsylvania.

The narrative is as follows:

Pensylvania—that is, Pen's Woods—is so called because this Province, which was overgrown with thick forest and woods, was granted to William Penn, the son of a lord, by the king of England, in the year 1691.

The following report of the newly discovered mines in Pensylvania and the neighboring English provinces in North America is to be found in the Breslau Kunst-und Natur-Geschichten, Supplement III, page 46:

“A learned physician, formerly living in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, and well acquainted with mines, gave me this relation, together with his *Epicrisis*, which may be found at the close, and it runs in this wise:

“Down to this time it was not known in these regions what was contained within the earth, since the emigrants from Europe had enough to do in cutting down the forests with which they found the country covered, like other uninhabited lands. But, after they had so arranged and

extended their plantations that they carried on a most important trade in raising corn, and saw the lands producing bread which formerly produced tobacco, they began to search among the mountains, and there was then first discovered, a few years ago, some rich iron ore, so necessary to supply the needs of the inhabitants; and at length, about four years ago, copper ore worth smelting was also discovered in various places. I give the following account of it from a conversation with a man living in Pensylvania, who sought practical means for advantageously working his mines, and had taken European miners with him for the purpose of working them.

“And first concerning the mountains of Pensylvania, they are the outermost spurs of the high mountains which the English call Blue Hills, or Blue Mountains, which stretch in a connected chain toward the north and through Canada, and equal in height the highest of the Hartz Mountains. These extend their spurs eastward for sixty or more English miles, and reach Pensylvania as well as Maryland, Virginia, West Yersy, Yorck and New England. In these provinces they are of moderate height, gently sloping, not broken, but connected in a chain.

In some places they are bare and rocky, but for the most part great oaks, which the inhabitants divide into black, white, red and Spanish oaks, white and black walnuts, chestnuts, poplars, elms and similar woods, grow over them. The mould is black earth, underneath it there is much of red, and here and there out-cropping Latten (*sic*) of many colors are found. At the foot and partly also in the middle of these mountains, a stretch of green rock is exposed for some thirty English miles, several specimens of which I have received. Of these (1) the most exposed I find very much like that stone which I came upon and observed near by the Glass-Hüttner Warm Springs on the Cremnitzer Road; (2) some specimens are still more green; (3) those which are broken off only a couple of feet below the surface look like *Terre verd*, and are mingled with some quartz.

“This green exposed rock gave the first appearance of ore, whereupon the people began to dig for it almost at the same time in many places, and at a few feet in depth, as we are assured, a veritable ore was discovered, of which indeed I have received no specimens, but through indications of various kinds, it may be compared to the

Hungarian variegated copper quartz. They have not sufficiently described to me the mineral ores, except that they are green throughout, nor can it be said whether the ores run in lodes, because they have not sufficiently developed them, but only here and there sunk little pits, the deepest of which are open for seventy feet, and some, according to the account, go perpendicularly into the solid ore. No thought has yet been given to the method of securing the ore in the depths. This is accomplished, however, by the use of powder, as the few Swedes and people from the Hartz, who are working in that country, inform me. Of the quality of the ore, they have not yet sufficiently assured me, and I myself up to this time have received nothing except green stone and earth. But this shows the quality N. 3, fusible like mountain green, nearly four pounds of Gahr copper with distinct traces of gold, but how strong cannot be determined from so few specimens. A distinguished chemist from a well-known place, who has tested the same in greater quantity, tells me that he has obtained out of four ounces a regulus of one ounce of undoubted black copper, and in this he likewise found traces of gold. It

is, therefore, well settled that the ores are not only worth smelting, but even turn out to be rich, and the inhabitants only complain that they have not yet been able to get skilled smelters to whom, when these have made it a success, they would give a part according to the contract.

“ But, to come back to the first discovery of the mines, great incentive and encouragement were given by the discovery of a rich copper mine, about six years ago, in West Yersy, ten English miles from New Yorck, and ninety miles northward from Philadelphia, which was accidentally found by a Moor, through the indications of an exposed green rock, and which proved to be very productive. The owner, a merchant (S.) at New Yorck, although he did not smelt the ore, was able to send it with good profit on a ship to England, whence it was taken and smelted at Bristol. And this mine is the most important of the neighborhood—indeed, the only one in operation—and the ore does not lie deep, and the water is carried off forward through a constructed drain. It is worked by people from Clausthal, and a ton of ore, calculated at twenty hundredweight, can be daily worked

and secured by four persons. The azure ore in the green mineral will, it is said, sometimes break with pure copper, and the richest reaches a standard of seventy pounds; for which reason many a one besides the Pennsylvanians might wonder that no one can be found to smelt such ore, since ore of this kind is generally fusible and produces black copper, as, for example, the Temeswarer. Besides this, no mines in the whole of the English provinces will be active until a more successful smelter is found. It may well be supposed, from what has been said, that the great mountains, the Blue Hills, not yet inhabited by Europeans, must contain rich veins. Besides, here and there antimony is found, which is not taken into consideration, although a ton will bring twenty pounds sterling in England. It is also thought that tin is also present, although the people are not encouraged in this respect while England has so much control over it. Of other minerals there is nothing to be said, except that asbestos is to be found in the mountains. They also contain mineral waters, used for drinking and for bathing, but hot springs have not yet been found. But finally, with reference to iron, which, in view of its importance

to the widespread and profitable cultivation of the soil, must take rank before all other metals, it is found in uncommonly rich mines. But still, because of a want of furnacemen, smiths and charcoal-burners, so much cannot yet be made but that inhabitants are compelled to supply their wants from England. In Pennsylvania there are only two forges, erected some years ago, and the iron ore is treated in a large furnace, as it is done in Upper Silesia. In other provinces, however, are several forges; in Virginia there are some high furnaces, and three of the same kind are being built in Pennsylvania. By these, every week twenty tons of iron are made, and in that country from twenty-four to thirty shillings up to six and seven dollars is paid for the hundredweight. The charcoal which the smiths use is of black walnut, black oak and ash wood. The regulations of the king concerning metals extend only to gold and silver, which are called royal mines, and of these a fifth must be given to the king and the proprietary, each of them. However, there are no such royal mines. Silver and gold which are taken out of copper are not considered subject to this right, but, like the other metals, may be sold to whoever chooses to buy.

In other respects, there are no mining rights and constitutions, but the English freedom is everywhere; and this, together with the profitable location of the ore, are two reasons which would much encourage many works in Europe, only it appears that the necessary interest in mining is wanting among these Pensylvanians, and they will not play until they have five trumps; but it may be that their advisors are to blame, who influence them to such an extent that some give up all hope of smelting because of a want of fir and pine wood. There are others, whose method of reasoning is to consider the mining art as a kind of idle witchcraft. They feel sure that they will not be led into the smelting houses, but they demand great proofs and give such counsels as cause the workmen to ask in vain for smelters who can smelt the N. B. copper ore in a little hundredweight way, with a small fire (Flamm Feuer), or with a two, three fire make goods fit for the merchant, so that enough may be gained at once to build a great smelting furnace.

“Spare my further reflections until all the species of ore are received and further information comes of progress made, of which, if we may depend upon the correctness

of this Relation, there is no doubt. It would be, indeed, a shame if such mining works should not be built, whose construction would result in many advantages, among them a natural improvement in old methods of practising the art, which is scarcely to be hoped for in the old mines because of continuing prejudices."

So far goes the Relation itself, to which the author adds his *Epicrisis*, as follows:

"To this description of the North American *Bergwerke*, or mines, I must, with your permission, add still a word. My informant is my uncle, John Henry Sprogel, who, considering himself a national American, is now stopping with me. Together with his brother, he has already lived in Pennsylvania twenty-five years, and he possesses a tract of land, which is called New Hannover, and upon which a colony has been settled. Three years ago he discovered a copper mine upon his ground, out of which came the alleged green stone marked number three. He sent miners over there, and also sought to persuade me to make the journey. Through this means I seek to strengthen my Relation, that I may serve myself *stylis recitativi, tanquam de re certiori*. I know well that

miners are anxious to work if only it is certain that there is ore to be found, and the place looks fit for mining; so I hope the Relation may be well established.

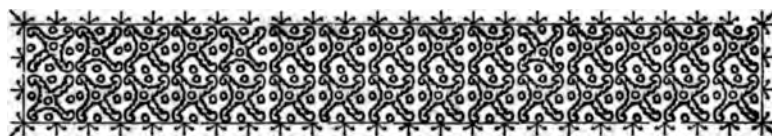
“For greater precaution, I have, indeed, omitted many details, which, if they were not impossible, still did not seem to be sufficiently proven. I remarked that the thing had a gap, that no smelting was done, though still this Sprogel, two years before, had taken over with him a smelter from Berlin named Gotthilff Marchelitta, a baptized Jew, and formerly a servant of the Prime Minister. If it is to be believed that this Marchelitta, known as a young alchemist, did not possess sufficient experience to construct a new mining work where commonly difficult problems arise, as in old, well-conducted works, still the excuse seems to me suspicious, because he made no great trial as he promised. When he arrived there, he was made unfaithful by the Quakers, and he said to Sprogel, his master, that a contract had been offered to him to smelt ore for the half, so that he held, for one hundred-weight, twenty-five pounds of copper (too little) and seven pounds of gold (too much and untrue). He desired also to be dismissed, which Sprogel would not do, because

he had made an agreement with him, for four years, to pay him yearly fifty dollars and travelling expenses free; therefore, it came about that neither by the one nor the other was any smelting done. Query: But wherefore did not merchant Sheiler smelt at New Yorck, since he had both Swedes and people from Clausthal?

“Answer: The people did not understand the management of the American ores, so different were they in every way from the European (who believes it?), nor to whom could he send his ton of ore (twenty hundred-weight) for fifty pounds sterling in England.

“If I reckon this according to the price of copper in Holland, and the ordinary cost of smelting, there remains little profit, to say nothing of the fact that coals are dearer in England. It is the presence of gold which must make the crout rich, and this is given out as the reason why in England they will not tell the smelting process nor the true contents. Sheiler can meanwhile maintain the price and not inquire so eagerly for smelters. I let this go and ask, farther, whether it would be considered wise to risk a thousand dollars in a smelting work, if I or some one else should undertake it.

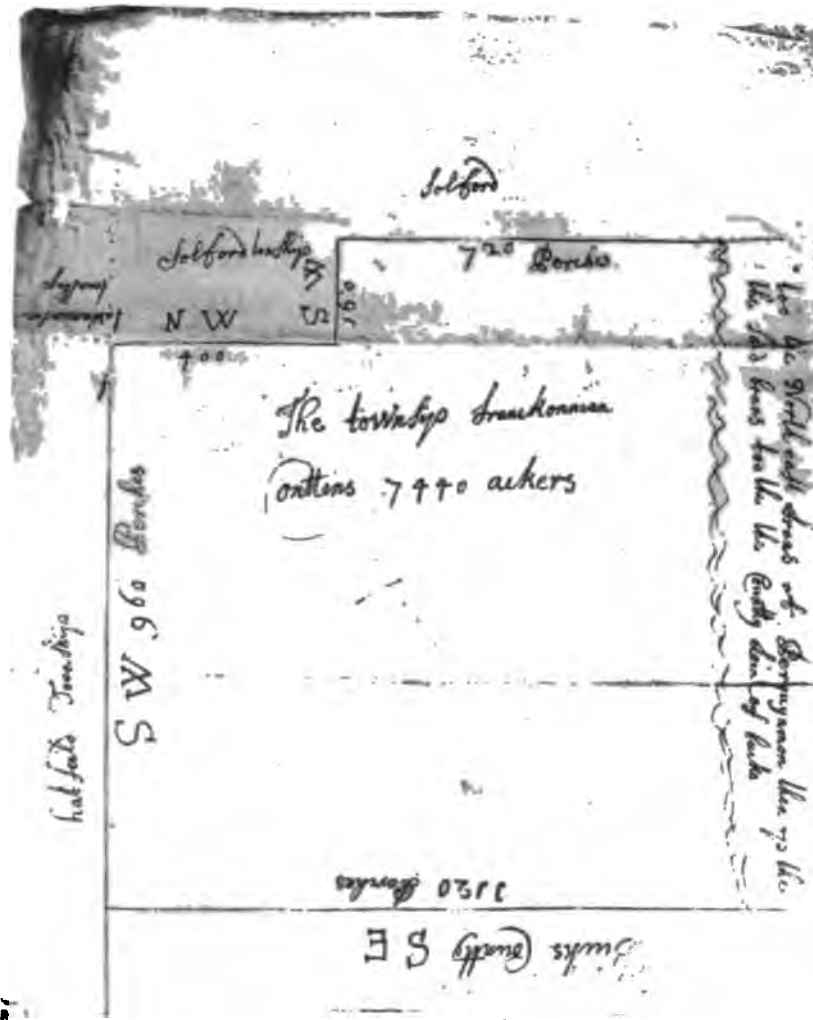
“Answer : One may be deceived by misstatements. There may be little or only paper money on hand ; he may not be able to do better than to give the smelter part of the metal, and in the beginning build his furnace small and smelt by the hundredweight, which can be done with a small fire (Flamm Feuer), if charcoal is wanting, as Mr. D. Fabricius, from London, a Hannoverian, assures me. Only this requires great knowledge, which nobody may trust and hope to find in me ; but a smelter from Clausthal, by the name of Schmidt, went there with his fortune of two hundred dollars, which he expended very usefully. And here lies the dog buried. There is no money, neither can ore enough be broken nor a smelting house be erected ; there is a want of pine wood, and that is the reason why I have not been able to make up my mind to make the journey and have been careful not to permit any of these details to get into the Relation. The chemist mentioned is Herr Marggraff, in Berlin. He writes that he has obtained, from the regulus, one ounce, four grains of gold. This appears to me to be strong ; in that event, it would be safe to neglect the copper and count upon the gold.”



CHAPTER VIII.

PANNEBECKER AS A SURVEYOR—HIS LAWSUITS.

ON the 3d of December, 1722, Joseph Richardson, a Quaker, living at the mouth of the Perkiomen; Moses Coates, living at the mouth of the French Creek, where is now Phoenixville; Daniel Walker, Thomas Coates (obscure), Robert Thomas, Jonas Potts, James Hamer, living on the high ground back of the village of Mont Clare; Thomas Rees, and Francis Buckwalter, whose place on the Schuylkill, a mile above Phoenixville, still belonged to his descendants until within a few years, presented a petition to the Court in Philadelphia, as "Inhabitants of Oletheho and the neighboring parts," setting forth that "there are already many Families settled in the aforesaid place called Oletheho, upon Schoolkill side;" that "there is a Mill put up at the French Creeks Mouth or Indian town fford;" but that there was no road



DRAFT OF FRANCONIA TOWNSHIP.
BY HENDRICK PANNEBECKER IN 1755

toward Philadelphia, and asking that there be established "a King's Road or Cartway through the Various Hills and ups and downs of the aforementioned place, to wit : From the Indian Town fford to the next established King's Road that will suit best the Inhabitants of Oletheho to the said city of Philadelphia." Upon an order of the Court to run a road "from Olekton (*sic*) to Philadelphia," Henry Pannebecker made a survey beginning "at a white oak standing in the King's High road near ye plantation of Joseph Samuel on Plymouth Road," and then by various courses running north to Perkiomen Creek, and thence "to the Indian Ford on Schuylkill," which was duly reported by the jury in March following and approved. This road is still the main thoroughfare between Phoenixville and Norristown. It appears, from these interesting papers, that the mill at French Creek was in existence ten years earlier than is stated in my Annals of Phoenixville. Richardson, who is mentioned in "Fothergill's Travels," was always described as Joseph Richardson of Olethgo, and we have, therefore, evidence of the fact that this region bore an Indian name which the English residents have tried to render by "Oletheho" or

"Olethgo." One more name is thus added to our local Indian vocabulary.

In March, 1725, Pannebecker laid out a road from the grist mill of James Shattick and William Lane, on Skip-pack Creek, to the King's Road, and, September 6th of the same year, one from "Thomas Rutter's iron works to the Great Road leading from Manahatawney to Philadelphia." March 2, 1726, he surveyed a road from "Colebrookdale furnace to Pool fforge and from thence to the Great Road leading to Philadelphia," in pursuance of a petition of James Lewis, Francis Rawle, George Mifflin and John Leacock, setting forth: "Whereas, your Petitioners having lately built a new fforge on Mahanatawny Creek, and wanting a Road from Colebrook furnace to the said new forge and from thence to the great road that leads to Philadelphia for ye more convenient carrying on ye business of ye said fforge and furnace," etc.

In March, 1727, he surveyed a road from the upper part of Salford Township to the "Great Road from Skip-pack," the same month another, "from a creek by John Jones' house in the upper part of Gwinneth to Susquehanna road," and, September 2, 1728, another, "Begin-

ning att a Beach tree near ye north Branch of Perkio-men," and proceeding "to the great road called Skippack Road, about a Run called Sacarass Run."

In March, 1731, he laid out the Township of Franco-nia, in Philadelphia County, containing seven thousand four hundred and forty acres, and in June of that year made a draft of a road "beginning at the county line dividing the counties of Philadelphia and Chester on the west side of the river Schuylkill and from thence to enter into the said river Schuylkill, at the upper end of the Flatland, and to pass through the said river at the usual ford made use of, and to land on the east side, as usual, on the land of Morris Lewis, and from thence the most expedient and nearest (way), with the least detriment to the Inhabitants to the aforesaid Road laid out to St. James' Church."

September 2, 1734, he surveyed a road from Henry Pawlings' place to the church near Skippack. In June, 1735, he made a draft of a road, from Felix Goot's mill, through the townships of Norristown, Worcester and Providence, and ending near the mill of Isaac Norris, and, the same year, two roads in Hanover—one, from

the upper line of the township to the north branch of the Perkiomen, and the other, from Anthony Sellen's land, on the Hanover line, to the north side of Magoga Creek.

September 10, 1738, he made a survey of the glebe lands of the St. James' Episcopal Church, on the Perkiomen, which had been given to it by William Lane.

A letter, written by him in terms of friendship to Edward Shippen, dated February 13, 1742, preserved among the papers of that family now in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, says that the children of Abraham op den Graeff were ready to sign Shippen's deed, and that he had not yet divided the tract of Humphrey Morris because his instrument was out of order and was being repaired by William Strets.

This letter, written in his sixty-eighth year, is reproduced *verbatim*. It is valuable, because it shows to what extent he had overcome the difficulty of expressing himself in a foreign tongue, indicating that he had more fully mastered the structure than the orthography of the English. It furnishes some evidence as to what was the language he had learned in his youth, and it gives a meagre glimpse at his mental processes and manner of life.

frind Edward Shippen

My Keind Respek too Juw too let Ju understan tha
I haffe Spoken With the totters of Abraham op then
graff an by ther Words are Willing too Sings Jur deets
as ther broders haffe don. As for dveiding the trak
belonging too homfry Morris is not don because my
Instrument Was out of order. I det send hat too Wellem
Strets an hey send het hom too mey bey my Son bout
I Kam too treiet het Wold Not doo an I haffe send het
bak too him again. As son as I haffe att my hand again
I shal fulfill the Sam. An forther I lat Ju untterstan
that the peopel that haffe bought the trey Hundret
ackers take all the Kar watt is in ther pouwer too pay
att the May faer. therafore my deseier of Ju is that Ju
may be Reade too mak them a good Lawful teittel.
an I haffe madem ther draght Redey. Now mor att
this pressents as mey Keind Resspeck too Ju an Jor
broder.

from Jur frind

HENRY PANNEBECKER

Anno Domnij 1742

the 13. day of February

His account with the Proprietaries for surveying, during the year 1733, the manors of Springfield, Manatawny and Perkasio, and numerous tracts on the Schuylkill, the Maiden Creek, and at Oley, with the order of Thomas Penn for its payment, and his receipt for forty pounds, fortunately now hangs in my library. John Penn paid him £3 in 1741 "for re-surveying the manor of Manatawny and supplying provisions for the same." These instances are sufficient to indicate the extent and importance of his work as a surveyor, and they show that he was no insignificant factor in the development of the recently-settled Province.

In his varied business relations with the men of his time he did not always escape the entanglements of the law. George Fitzwater, George Claypoole and William Fraser filed a report, 11th of 11th month, 1723, as arbitrators in a suit brought by him against John George Reiff, concerning some lands sold by him in Hanover, and awarded him £22 13*d.* and 6*s.*; and the private docket of John Ross, Attorney-at-law, shows a suit brought against him, in 1744, by Samuel Farmer, and another upon a promissory note by Jacob Steyer, in 1747, in neither of which did the plaintiff succeed.



CHAPTER IX.

EMBROILMENT WITH THE INDIANS IN 1728— A SKIRMISH—INDIANS KILLED.

IN the year 1728 occurred a difficulty with the Indians, the only interruption during the early days of the settlement of those pleasing and friendly relations which ever existed between the Pennsylvanians and the natives, and, for that reason, conspicuous and to be treated more seriously than the circumstances would otherwise require. Eleven Indians, all armed and under the command of a Spanish Indian, appeared in the neighborhood of Colebrookdale, and rudely forced their way into the houses, and compelled the people to supply them with meat and drink. Twenty men, a few of whom were armed with guns and swords, went in search of them, and, overtaking them, sent two messengers to treat with the captain of the hostiles. Instead of being civil, he

brandished a sword and ordered his men to fire, which they did, wounding two of the settlers. The latter returned the fire, and the valiant captain fell, "but he afterwards got up, and run into the woods after his Party, having left his Gun and Match Coat behind him," and was seen no more. The settlers remained in possession of the field, but the skirmish caused the greatest commotion, because no one knew to what it might lead, and its incidents were much magnified by rumor. An express rode into Philadelphia, bearing this dispatch to the Governor:

"To His Excellency Patrick Gordon Esqr. Governor Generall in Chief over the Province of pencilvania and the Territoris thereunto Belonging. Van Bebbers Township and the adjacenses Belonging May ye 10, 1728.

"We think It fit to address your Excellency for Relief for your Excellency must Knowe That we have Suffered and is like to sufer By the Ingians, they have fell upon ye Back Inhabitators about falkner's Swamp & near Cosha-hopin. Therefore we the humble Petitioners, with our poor Wives & Children do humbly Beg of your Excellency to take it into Consideration and Relieve us the

Petitioners hereof, whos Lives lies at Stake with us and our poor Wives and Children that is more to us than Life. Therefore, we the humble Petitioners hereof, Do Desire an answer from your Excellency by ye Bearer with Speed. So no more at present from your poor afflicted People whose names are here Subscribed.

JOHN ROBERTS,	ISRAEL MORRIS,
PETER BUN,	JOHN MIER,
W. LANE,	DIELMAN KOLB,
MATTHIAS TYSON,	HENRY PANNEBECKER,
JACOB OP DEN GRAEF,	JACOB KOLB,
CONRAD CRESSON (?),	JOHN JACOBS,
ANTHONY HOLMAN,	HANS DETWEILER,
JN. PAWLING,	MARTIN KOLB,
JACOB CUNRED,	PETER JOHNSON."
PETER RAMBO,	

This appeal was too strong to be resisted, and that same day, April 15th, the Governor hastened to Manatawny, where he found things in great disorder because of the skirmish. Many of the more remote inhabitants had quitted their houses and were in great apprehension that

numerous bodies of Indians were coming to attack them. Several German families were collected at a mill near New Hanover in order to defend themselves, and there he saw the man reported to have been killed, "but he appeared to be only slightly wounded in the Belly." After investigating the occurrence, he concluded that the settlers were as much responsible as the Indians, but fearing further trouble he distributed some powder and lead among them and gave a commission to John Pawling, Marcus Huling and Mordecai Lincoln, ancestor of the President, to gather them together and place them in a situation for defence. Some of the people were so much incensed that they threatened to kill all of the Indians they could find. Acting upon this impulse, about a month later, two brothers, John and William Winter, killed Toka Collie and two Indian women, and bringing with them two girls, one of whom was maimed, to Justice George Boone, ancestor of Daniel Boone, demanded a reward. Walter Winter later made a statement in which he said that on May 10th, he heard from a Dutchman at Tulpehocken that the Indians had killed two Dutchmen and wounded three others;

that he notified the neighbors to get together for defence, and, going to his own house, fastened the windows; that while there the son of John Roberts came to him for assistance, saying that some Indians with a bow and a great number of arrows were at his father's house and that his father was in danger of being killed; that then he, Walter, with his father-in-law, Morgan Herbert, and John Winter, each with a loaded gun, started for the house of Roberts and saw an Indian man with some women and girls sitting on a wood-pile before Roberts' door; that the Indian took his bow, drew an arrow and put it to the string of his bow; that he shot the Indian and John Winter shot one of the women and knocked the brains out of the other; that the girls ran away, but he overtook one of them after shooting at her with an arrow, and later found the other, much hurt about the head and face.

Toka Collie, the Indian who had been killed, was an old man, friendly to the settlers, and closely related to several powerful chiefs who, Governor Gordon feared, would endeavor to revenge his death. The Governor therefore immediately sent a messenger with some pres-

ents to the Indian girls who had been injured, and with instructions to employ some skilled person to dress their wounds and to assure them that their assailants should not be permitted to escape punishment. He also sent John and Nicholas Scull, interpreters, to the chiefs, Allummapees, Opekasset and Manawkyhickon, to inform them that measures had been taken to arrest the Winters and to request them to meet him in council at Conestoga. On the 22d of May, accompanied by about thirty of the principal men of the colony, and having with him "twenty-five Strowd Matchcoats, twenty Blanketts, twenty Duffles, twenty-five shirts, one hundred wt. Gunpowder, two hundred wt. of Lead, five hundred Flints and fifty Knives, with Rum, Bread, Pipes & Tobacco," he departed from Philadelphia. On the way he visited the Indians upon the French Creek, and, continuing his journey to Conestoga, found there awaiting him seventeen chiefs, representing the Delawares, Ganawese, Shawanese and Mingoos. The council lasted through two days, in the course of which presents were mutually given, and promises made by the Indians that they would do all in their power to capture the hostiles who had

attacked the settlement, and on the part of the Governor that the perpetrators of the outrage upon the Indians should be treated as they deserved. The Winter brothers were afterward tried for murder, convicted and hanged, and in this way terminated the embroilment.



CHAPTER X.

PANNEBECKER'S NATURALIZATION IN 1730—HIS
EDUCATION — HIS LIBRARY — CAREER OF
HENRY BERNHARD KOSTER—GEORGE KEITH.

PANNEBECKER was naturalized by Act of Assembly in 1730. He is described in Deed Book G 10, page 315, as a gentleman. That he had somewhere received an education beyond that of the ordinary colonist appears from his neat chirography, from his use of three languages, from his knowledge of mathematics, sufficient to make him competent to act as Surveyor for the Proprietaries, and from his ownership of that rare possession in a new country, a library of books. I have seen the inventories of the estates of perhaps the most of the wealthiest citizens of Philadelphia of that period, and while silver spoons and tankards are sometimes met with, a book, unless it be a Bible, is not often found.



HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, L. L. D.

Judge of Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas, No. 2.

Soon after his death, on the 16th of June, 1754, his two sons and his son-in-law inserted this advertisement in Saur's *Pensylvanische Berichte*: "Some days ago the old Henrich Pannebecker died in the 81st year of his age. He was accustomed to lend out many of his books, and any one who has any of the said books in his possession is requested to bring them to Johannes Pannebecker, Peter Pannebecker or Cornelius Theissen." They were numerous enough to make it important to advertise for them, and it is therefore manifest that he had some literary tastes and the means for their gratification. A descendant may be pardoned for looking back after the lapse of a century and a half with some emotion upon this picture of the old man, his wife dead and his children married and away, spending his declining days over the leaves of volumes that told perhaps of the far-off home in the Palatinate and the familiar scenes of his youth, and of his generous but vain efforts to awaken an interest among indifferent and forgetful neighbors in the things that gave him pleasure.

That many of the early German settlers of Pennsylvania were men of more than ordinary attainments is

certain. The liberal principles advocated by Penn and embodied in his government attracted wide attention upon the continent of Europe, and many of those bold spirits who were inclined to break away from established lines of thought, and who found that their efforts brought them into difficulties at home, sought the greater intellectual freedom of the new province. Especially was this true of those who were in the advance in theological inquiry. The world has been made to some extent familiar with the work of Pastorius, Kelpius, Muhlenberg, Falkner, Beissel, Peter Miller, Zinzendorff and Spangenberg, through the results of the study of recent investigators, but the interesting career of Henry Bernhard Koster, who had translated the Bible from the Septuagint into German and was familiar with most languages, ancient and modern, and who spent several years of his long life on the Wissahickon, has remained unknown even in Pennsylvania. I translate an account of this neighbor and contemporary of Pannebecker from Adelung's "History of Human Folly," asking the reader only to remember that the biographer was a zealous churchman, who viewed the opinions of Quaker and like sectarians with little sympathy:

HENRY BERNHARD KUSTER,

A CHILIAST.

This man is a remarkable example of the rapid development of fanaticism when the inner inclination toward it is aided by circumstances and the ruling fantasy meets with no overpowering obstacles. Kuster began with mild Pietism, continued with mild Quakerism, and ended with the most frantic Chiliasm, which only a mad pate like that of Oliger Pauli could produce.

Our Henry Bernhard Kuster was the elder brother of the honored linguist, Ludolph Kuster, who, beside his great learning, had in his character much that was remarkable, and who through ambition and unrest at last entered the Catholic church at Paris. The father of both was Ludolph Kuster or Koster, Burgomaster and merchant at Blumenberg, a little city in the county of Lippe, in Westphalia, where the subject of our sketch was born, in November, 1662. Since he was anxious to study, he first entered the town school of his native city, and when the rector there (Vogelsang) was called to Detmold as corrector of the grammar school, he followed him there and remained four years under his instruction, and after-

ward was at the gymnasium at Bremen, where he continued five years, and then went to Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, where he studied law three years, and left the university in 1684, in the twenty-second year of his age. Kuster possessed much talent, which he utilized not only in his own rapid advancement in knowledge, but afterward in the instruction of others. He was at first tutor in the family of Aulic-Counsellor Polemius, in Kustrin, and since he here at once abandoned the ordinary common track and instructed his pupils more in friendly addresses and agreeable discourse than frightened them with pedantic displays of outlandish learning, he became known to Privy-Councillor Otto von Schwerin at Berlin, who in 1685 made him tutor to his three sons, Carl, Friedrich and Otto.

The Privy-Councillor, whose favor Kuster knew soon how to win, was a lover of knowledge, and collected a library of some importance. In it Kuster came upon "Walton's Polyglott" and derived therefrom a fondness for the Eastern languages, although law was his specialty, and soon also for theology, which in its consequences was a great misfortune to him, for he here conceived one

heresy after another. He began by deriving from Walton a mistrust for the accepted text of the Hebrew Bible and a preference for the Septuagint translation, which mistrust he shared with his patron the Privy-Councillor, and they both studied Greek together and translated the Bible from the Septuagint into the German, which translation has not yet been printed. That Kuster at this time must have had peculiar views, is clear from the following circumstances: His patron, the Baron von Schwerin, had great influence with the Prince of Brandenburg, and, since he had many appointments to give out, he more than once offered his tutor a suitable provision, but Kuster made it a point of conscience to serve a Reformed master, declined to go to court where there were so many opportunities for sin, and went in preference to the Quakers in America.

Kuster must very early have had an inclination toward Pietism, which was then prevalent in the cities of Brandenburg, and this no doubt led him to the venturesome step. The Society of Quakers, founded some time before in England by George Fox, whose life I have written in my second volume, had for the most part gone

to America, where they were safe from the persecutions of the ruling Churches of their fatherland, and where recently King Charles II had presented to the well-known William Penn the whole of the country occupied by the Quakers, which henceforth received the name of Pennsylvania. Here the Quakers lived in undisturbed quiet, built up the waste land and enticed also foreigners by the promise of unlimited freedom of religion and conscience. Distance painted the attractions of this new Eden in the richest colors and heated the imaginations of all those who were dissatisfied in their fatherland. In short, every one who would be rich without trouble, who was not at peace with the government, or was troubled with religious fantasies, went to Pennsylvania.

What were the influences which moved Kuster, I do not know. It may be that the independent play of his fancy persuaded him, to which may have been added an inclination toward new things and his peculiar disposition toward change. At all events, Kuster came to the conclusion, with many of his friends—the most of whom, as Pietists, were not of the best repute—to abandon Germany and to wander to this new land of promise, which

happened in 1693, after he had remained seven years with the Baron von Schwerin. The company of these adventurers, who assembled at Magdeburg and Halberstadt, numbered twenty persons, among whom were five candidates in theology—namely, Selig, from Lengo; Kelpius, from Siebenburgen; Biedermann, from Anhalt; Falkner, from Saxony; and another, unknown. Since Kuster was of the most importance among them, he was chosen leader of the society, and thereupon they undertook the journey, in the spring of 1693, to England, and from there, in the following spring, upon two ships, to America. Upon the way they met three French ships, and, since England and France were then at war, a battle ensued, in which the English were victorious and captured one of the French ships.

After this little adventure the society, after a short voyage of eight weeks, happily arrived in Pennsylvania. And now they could see with their own eyes how promising was the hoped-for heaven. There was, indeed, a tract of land offered to them without compensation, but it was overgrown with an impenetrable, thousand-year-old forest, and must first, with great trouble and much

cost, be made fruitful before they could even quiet their hunger. He who had hoped to be rich in America without trouble, found himself thrown out of the rain into the gutter, and he who had brought with him from Europe neither property nor the strength and will to work, was here still poorer than a beggar was there. Still the doubtful step had been taken, and they were compelled to learn to do, in time, as well as they could.

Kuster, with his society, settled at Germantown, a village of Hollanders near Philadelphia. Here an Englishman, named Thomas Fairmond, presented to Kuster and his five learned companions a stretch of forest, which they undertook to make arable land. They built there a little block-house of trees, laid one upon another, cleared out the forest, and planted Turkish corn, to save themselves from hunger. Still it was not long before Kuster received a more important call. While he was by profession a jurist, he had still dabbled in theology, and disclosed a very strong inclination to preach and to teach others. This he had already shown upon the journey, and here he soon found an opportunity to indulge still further this inclination. Since there was at

that time no preacher in Germantown, he preached every Sunday for the assembled Germans, and since also the English, little by little, began to come to his services, who understood little German, he preached to them also in the English language, and by this means the number of his hearers was very much increased ; especially the Keithians, a kind of gentle Quakers, came to his sermons, which gave him the opportunity to become deeply embroiled in their religious struggles. In the second volume of this history, in the life of George Fox, I have shown what a crude and clumsy beginning the sect of Quakers had, and how earnestly Fox, their founder, and his first followers sought through frenzy and folly to obliterate all form. I have also there called attention to the circumstances which caused the entrance into this sect, in spite of themselves, little by little, of learned and capable men, from which time on a little more order and arrangement were brought into their rough and crude religious system ; but the result of this was also a number of divisions and separations among them, which will not cause wonder if one only thinks that the inner light, or rather the imagination, was the great

principle of this new sect, and that this inner light must be necessarily susceptible of very many grades and modifications according as the persons who undertake to follow it are separated in knowledge, culture and manners. Fox and his first followers were men from the dregs of the people, and just so rude as was their inner light so crude also were their first religious views. Among those persons of the better kind who gave themselves the trouble to bring this chaos of crude religious notions into some order, and to make it a little more agreeable to the taste of the upper classes, were to be found especially George Keith and Robert Barclay. Both were men of learning, but especially the first, who had considerable information in philosophy and mathematics, who had been for some time a preacher in the English Church, and who was drawn to them especially through the hope of the restoration of the first innocent and effective Christianity which the Quakers claimed for themselves. In the hands of such a man, the rude and tangled Quakerism must necessarily take on another countenance, and it did so, although not all were content with the new creation. Especially he

sought to refine their rude conception of the inner light, or the Christ within, and sought to bring them as much nearer to the ruling church as was possible, while he began also again the use of the sacraments which the first Quakers had completely thrown aside.

Many of the moderate and sensible Quakers took the side of Keith, and so arose a new sect among them, which from their founder were called Keithians. These indeed took their rise in Pennsylvania, where Keith had been since 1689, but they also soon extended through England and Holland, where they still continue. Keith had gone to England in order to give an account in the yearly meeting of the Quakers of his new views, when Kuster came there. Therefore his followers were abandoned and without a shepherd, since they were hated and persecuted by the regular Quakers, in the same way in which allied sects usually hate each other. When Kuster began to preach in this neighborhood, they went to his sermons, and since they found that his discourses were not so far from their views as the sermons of their religious allies, they came to him in increasing numbers. This caused Kuster to flatter himself with the

hope of leading these people farther from the principles of Quakerism and of founding with them his own sect, which in every important particular should be grounded upon Chiliasm, since Kuster at this time, as will appear clearly hereafter, belonged in body and soul to the grossest and coarsest Chiliasm which can be imagined. When the Orthodox Quakers saw that the novice Kuster was endeavoring to draw the separated Keithians still farther away from them, they adopted all means to persuade them back again, and on the other hand these latter, since they had again a leader at their head, were more bold to struggle and oppose them wherever they could. They had, however, cut off the way for such opposition, since they would not let any Keithian come to and speak in their meetings. Kuster, however, knew how to help himself, and the way in which he once fought the Orthodox Quakers in 1695 in their own meeting deserves to be set forth, because it displays the fanatic in all of his grossness. He chose for the purpose the village of Burrington (Burlington), not far from Germantown, where an important yearly meeting of the regular Quakers was to be held, and since the greatest part of

the inhabitants were Lutherans, he believed here, at least, to be secure from the violence of the Quakers. He took with him six influential and expert Keithians, went into the meeting, which was composed of nearly four thousand people, having at their head thirty preachers, who in these meetings are accustomed to speak one after the other. Some had already finished their addresses, and when another arose to speak one of Kuster's companions asked permission of the meeting to offer something out of the Holy Scriptures. No one listened to him, and he whose turn it was, began to speak. After he had finished the Keithian repeated his request, with the same poor result. Finally, for the third time, when the request had been repeated again in vain, the Spirit of the Lord came over our Kuster; he walked boldly up and began to speak, and since the Orthodox Quaker luckily had a weak voice and Kuster a strong, powerful one, it was very easy for him to shout the poor Quaker out of the saddle. At once all the remaining preachers got up on the bench upon which they sat and tried to frighten by this means the novice. He was not disturbed in the least. He cried: "I raise

my voice against you with the full witness of the Word of God in order to oppose out of the Holy Scriptures your blasphemous teaching, which is worse than that of the heathen of America, namely the teaching of your spiritual Jesus, and that the body which Jesus had disappeared in the clouds on his journey to Heaven." In this tone he continued, by means of two quotations in the letter to the Hebrews—"For this He did once when He offered up Himself," and "He once appeared through His own offering"—to oppose one of their most important points of contention. Finally he closed with these words: "Now to-day has the light of the Scriptures appeared in the second American darkness, and its strength you shall learn, not only here in Burrington, but in all the colonies. I stand ready to give you an account either in writing or orally of my words, and you shall learn that you must flee before these two quotations of Scripture."

Upon these words the meeting was dissolved without anyone having answered him, and since the Orthodox Quakers became scattered, and some foolish ones who came to their meeting gossiped far and wide about what

nobody could understand, Kuster caused a short account of this affair to be printed in the English language, which I shall describe among his writings.

Kuster and his new followers raised their heads high after this heroic deed, and omitted no opportunity to cause trouble among the regular Quakers. The Keithians conceded indeed Baptism and the Holy Supper, but up to this time had made no use of them, until Koster addressed them and advised them to let themselves be baptized by him openly, in spite of the Quakers. The way in which he carried it out is also remarkable. He chose for the purpose the river near Philadelphia, and made an address before a great concourse, wherein he sought to show that he had a right to baptize as the Apostles did. Then he baptized one after the other and dismissed each with the words: "Go forth and do this all the days of thy life," through which he believed that he had prepared them as preachers.

Meanwhile this and other events, and especially the sharp struggles among the Quakers, caused much commotion at London, and it was believed that the principal cause lay in the want of regular preachers, so they sent

a spiritual young man of the English Church, named Clayton, to Philadelphia, in order to bring back at least the Keithians into the bosom of the English Church. As for the headstrong Orthodox Quakers, they were lost, both hops and malt. The hope which they had entertained of him was not disappointed, since, little by little, many of the Keithians were persuaded back by him. But in this way the plan of Kuster, who had hoped to found a new sect among them, was entirely overthrown.

Since now the most of the Keithians fell away from him, little by little, especially since he was no ordained preacher, and the regular Quakers hated him, and his own unquiet and unsteady character made him content nowhere for a long time, he determined, in company with a Pietist whom he did not know, to abandon that blessed America, which a few years before he had regarded from the distance as an earthly Paradise, and to go again to Germany.

In December, 1699, they went from Pennsylvania to Virginia, and toward the close of January, 1700, in a tobacco ship, came safely to London, and soon afterward to Amsterdam.

It was probably about this time that Kuster made the acquaintance of the wild Oliger Pauli, or, at least, learned to know him out of his writings. I have already, in the fourth part of this work, given information of this deluded man, and nothing shows more the advance in fanatic folly of our Kuster than that he at once joined the party of Pauli, although the latter was then in the mad-house in Amsterdam. But this did not prevent Kuster from recognizing his holy mission in a publication which has the title, "Der Hebraer Schechina, d. i. die persönliche Einwohnung der göttlichen Herrlichkeit in dem Messia, an Oliger Pauli erschienen. Amsterdam, 1701, 8vo."

I regret that I have not been able to find this publication. It would probably show that Kuster was not behind Pauli in wild and deluded notions, though he showed more decency and coolness in expression. From this time on he wandered about through the rest of his long life in Germany, but was, as it appears, wise enough to keep his Chiliast whimsies more to himself, since he knew that the founders of new religions in Germany are not always as welcome as these lords wish. Meanwhile, it is clear from the following that he, from time to time,

had an apocalyptic attack, and sought to give vent to the same through the press. First he went from Holland into his fatherland, and since he heard that a certain Baron von Amazone, who, because of religion, had gone out of Italy, and whom he had well known in Berlin, was become upper tutor to the Abbess of Hervorden, Charlotta Sophia, a born princess of Curland, he went there and found an opportunity to satisfy again his restless inclination to travel. The Duchess had a claim upon the ruling Duke of Curland, Ferdinand, who would not pay her some money left to her by her father, Jacob. Kuster undertook to press the cause, and, since the Dukedom of Curland was then in Swedish hands, he went to Stockholm, where he arrived at the end of the year 1702. Here they directed him to the king, who was then with his army in Poland. Kuster found the King the following year in the camp before Thoren, and was so far successful in his efforts that the Duke was compelled to pay a part of the money owed, after deduction. Such a service deserved a reward, but the Abbess was soon after compelled to leave Hervorden and flee to Verden, where she was not in a situation to show her-

self grateful to him. Kuster nevertheless remained with her several years in Verden, and afterward went to Hamburg, where he earned his bread by instructing young people in languages and, indeed, in whatever they desired. Since memory, after enthusiasm, was the strongest of his faculties, he knew, indeed, much of all things, but in a very confused way, without thorough foundation, and for the most part only half. Nevertheless, since young people cannot well judge, he was not wanting in scholars. Perhaps he would have remained longer in Hamburg were it not that the pest appeared in the neighborhood of this city, and the place itself was disagreeable to him, and he only wanted an opportunity to be able to leave it with a good grace, which opportunity soon occurred. The Danish ambassador to England, Baron von Schaak, sought a tutor for his sons, and the Count von Kniephausen, Prussian Ambassador in Denmark, who was now in Hamburg and whom Kuster formerly had known in Berlin, but who, perhaps, was not aware what a change there was in his head since that time, recommended him. Kuster knew so well how to keep to himself his fanatic whimsies when it

was necessary, that he remained upon the estate of the Count at Schwanholm seven years as tutor. After his pupils had grown up he lived for some years after 1714 partly in Berlin, partly in a village near Berlin until about 1724, when he went to Berleburg, which about this time was a celebrated nest of fanatics of all kinds. The Count Casimir von Sayn and Witgenstein, who fostered and protected these people, soon found so much attractive in him that he kept him at his court a long while. This good reception and the beautiful company in which he found himself made his imagination, which for want of nourishment seems to have slumbered a long while, again break forth. He wrote here the key of the first and last "Hebraisch-Griechisch-Teutschen Harmonie," wherein he not only seeks to show the mutual relation between these three known languages, but beside became prolix upon theological matters, and among other things promised to explain by numbers the secrets of the Trinity, of the Incarnation of Christ, and indeed of the whole Apocalypse. In order to scatter further abroad these important truths, the Count contributed a large part of the cost of printing. Why he remained

there no longer, where according to all appearance everything went well with him, I do not know. Until 1735, he wandered about, sometimes in Westphalia, sometimes in East Friesland, sometimes in Holland, sometimes in Bremen, but nowhere finding a resting-place. Finally he found himself in that year in Hannover, where he again gave instruction in Eastern and Western languages, but so taught that no man could understand him. He claimed to know and to understand the most languages in the world, but among them all the Hebrew, the Greek, the German and the Bohemian were his holy languages, and therefore he was accustomed to repeat his prayer at all times in all these four tongues. That a man of his inclination must have been very strong in the Apocalypse can easily be perceived, although he explained it entirely otherwise than other men with such phantasies. He held himself for the angel of Philadelphia with the seven vases, because he had remained seven years at Philadelphia. He maintained stoutly and resolutely that he would never die. He came pretty near to keeping his word, since he reached indeed the age of ninety-eight years, and preserved his vivacity and

health till a short time before his death. As his strength began to leave him the city council took him into the orphan house, where he died in 1749. His publications are:

(1) History of the Protestation Done in the Publick Yearly Meeting of the Quakers at Burlington in the Year 1695. New York, 1695. 8vo.

(2) Aufgeschlossene Prophetia der Hebraer, oder der von Anno 1692 an vom Himmel aus dem Rath der Wächter herab steigende Blitz, und der von A. 1697, 1700, 1703, 1707 an, bis an alle Ende der Himmel und Erden darauz folgende Donner. 1700. 8vo.

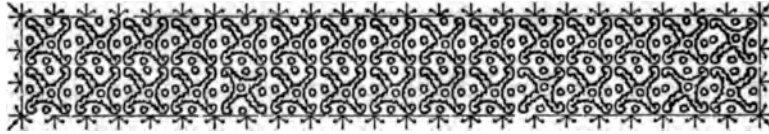
(3) Der Hebraer Schechina, d. i. die persönliche Einwohnung der göttlichen Herrlichkeit in dem Messia, an Oliger Pauli. Amsterdam, 1701. 8vo.

(4) Directorium et conspectus universalis ephemeridum Aschkenazeo-Elamiticarum; *i. e.*, triumphantium tandem agonum justitiæ exorientis atque reducis, videlicet de resurrectione imperii aeternitatum. Lemgow, 1702. 4to.

(5) De Villeging der XII Letters des heiligen He-

brewischen en der XXIII Letters des heiligen Griech-
schen en des darmede overeen komenden Boheemi-
schen Hoogh- en Nederduytschen Alphabeets. 8vo.

(6) Schlüssel der ersten und letzten Hebraisch-
Griechisch-Teutschen Harmonie. Berleburg, 1724. 8vo.



CHAPTER XI.

PANNEBECKER'S QUARREL WITH MUHLENBERG— HIS DEATH—HIS CHILDREN.

TOWARD the close of his life, when in his seventy-eighth year, Pannebecker had an unfortunate controversy with Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the founder of the Lutheran Church in America. The difficulty apparently arose from the differences of religious views between the Reformed and the Lutherans and the too great zeal of a pastor, then forty years old, in the prime of life and eager for the growth of his church, in efforts to make converts. Pannebecker made no note of the occurrence, which would have been forgotten long ago if Muhlenberg had not sent an elaborate report to Germany and had it published at Halle. From this report I omit some of the bitterness of spirit and extract the facts, viewing them, however, from the other end of the

camera. Anthony Vanderslice, of Providence Township, married Martha, daughter of Hendrick Pannebecker, and had five children. In his earlier years he had been impressed by the preaching of Muhlenberg, aided in building the church and school-house and contributed to the support of the preacher; but "his important family connections" disapproved of his conduct, and his father-in-law, who was "a reviler of our church," intermitted nothing to make the preaching ridiculous and hateful to the husband of his daughter. The result was that Vanderslice fell from grace and "abused my poor person causelessly." In October, 1751, he became very ill, and on receiving a visit from his former pastor, which ended in a reconciliation, he in warm words expressed regret for what had been said and done, and soon after died. This probably would have ended the matter, since, in entire good spirit, Muhlenberg was asked to preach the funeral sermon; but even preachers are human, and he could not forego an expression of triumph. Expecting from the numerous family connections a large concourse of English and Germans, as in fact happened, he took as his text Zechariah iii. 2: *Is not this a brand plucked*

out of the fire? And as he says: "The application in the text was made sternly to the many listeners, and I detailed the whole history of the affair." Strange to say, his hearers did not take the admonition meekly, but the "proud Pennsylvanians were angry and thought themselves insulted," and the old father-in-law warned the children and remaining friends against such influences. The two more mature children of Vanderslice obeyed him, but the other three adhered to the pastor. Muhlenberg says: "This angered the old surveyor as grandfather anew beyond measure, and he sought, as I understood, to shame the young people, and poured out angry speeches." And he complacently adds with a feeling which he probably never stopped to analyze: "The old man has now by a sudden death been sent into eternity! What nothings are all men, and yet they live so securely!" The sons of Muhlenberg and those of Pannebecker were intimately associated, and their descendants soon intermarried.

Pannebecker fell over dead, almost without a struggle, on the 4th of April, 1754, aged eighty years and two weeks. He had eight children: Martha, born June 15,

1700, who married Anthony Vanderslice, and died September 15, 1761; Adolph, born 1708, and died May, 1787; Peter, born March 8, 1710, married Elizabeth Keyser, died June 28, 1770; John, born August 27, 1713, married Anneke Keyser, died June 14, 1784; Jacob, born 1715, married Margaret Tyson, died May 27, 1752; Henry, born 1717, married Rebecca Kuster, died about May 31, 1792; Barbara, born about 1720, married March 30, 1738, Cornelius Tyson; and one other, believed to be Susanna, wife of Peter Keyser of Worcester.



CHAPTER XII.

HIS IMPRESS UPON LATER GENERATIONS— STATESMEN AND PROFESSIONAL MEN—WAR RECORD.

IF we accept the laws of heredity (and with the accumulation of facts upon this subject, how can they be rejected?), the impress made by a man upon subsequent generations may well be considered in forming an estimate of the value of his life. The descendants of Hendrick and Friedrich Pannebecker to the present time certainly exceed three thousand in number, since a record (far from complete) has been made of over twenty-five hundred. In this large throng, eight have been clergymen, one of whom, Matthias Pennypacker, became a bishop among the Mennonites in the last century. Fifteen have been physicians, including Benjamin Pennebaker, resident physician at the Philadelphia House of Correc-

tion ; Jacob Pennypacker, president of the Medical Society of Chester County ; E. Z. Derr, surgeon in the United States Navy ; Isaac A. Pennypacker, Professor of Theory and Practice in the Philadelphia College of Medicine, and James Tyson, Professor of Clinical Medicine and Dean of the Medical Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, and the learned author of many standard works upon medicine. Twenty-eight have been lawyers, and of these three were district attorneys and seven were judges, including Green B. Samuels, justice of the Virginia Court of Appeals. In politics, Peter, son of Hendrick, was assessor of Philadelphia County, and Henry Vanderslice, of the third generation, was sheriff of Berks County before the Revolution. Since that time there have been three burgesses, nine Assemblymen, five State Senators, a State agent, two county treasurers, a State treasurer, two members of Constitutional Conventions, a canal commissioner, a Presidential elector, two members of Congress, a nominee for Congress and a nominee for Governor ; and Isaac S. Pennybacker, long a judge of the United States District Court, one of the first regents of the Smithsonian Institution and a member of Congress,

declined a seat in the Virginia Court of Appeals and the Attorney-Generalship of the United States, and died while a member of the United States Senate from Virginia.

During the Revolution, John Pennebacker was one of the committee to distribute food and clothing among the families of the soldiers, and Henry Vanderslice bore an active part in military affairs in Berks County, and was with the army in New Jersey in 1777; Dirck Pennypacker was a captain, Daniel Pannebecker an ensign, Jacob Vanderslice a lieutenant, Henry Vanderslice, Jr., a corporal, Anthony Vanderslice a private; and Susanna Pannebecker, a child of six years, "was burned to death when the soldiers left" their camp at Pennypacker's Mills, October 3, 1777, under the command of Washington, to fight the battle of Germantown. Samuel Pennypacker and John Samuels were privates in the War of 1812. B. M. Prentiss was a captain, Joseph Samuels a lieutenant, Joseph J. Pennypacker an aid, and Pinckney Lugenbeel was breveted a major for gallant conduct in the battle of Chapultepec, in the war with Mexico.



BREVET MAJOR GENERAL GALUSHA PENNYPACKER,
U. S. A.

THE PENNYPACKER FAMILY IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

MAJOR-GENERALS.

1. Galusha Pennypacker. The youngest general of the war, born June 1, 1842. Private April 21, 1861, Co. G, 9th Penna. Vols. Quartermaster's Sergeant. August 22, 1861, Captain Co. A., 97th Penna. Vols. October 7, 1861, Major. August 13, 1864, Lieutenant-Colonel. June 22, 1864, Colonel. January 15, 1865, Brevet Brigadier-General. February 18, 1865, Brigadier-General and Brevet Major-General. December 1, 1866, Colonel 34th Infantry, U. S. A. March 2, 1867, Brevet Brigadier-General and Brevet Major-General U. S. A. March 25, 1869, Colonel 16th Infantry, U. S. A. Commanded Department of the South. Wounded seven times in eight months, supposed mortally.
2. Benjamin Mayberry Prentiss. Colonel 7th Illinois. May 17, 1861, Brigadier-General. November 29, 1861, Major-General. Had the advance of the army at Shiloh and there captured. Defeated Gen. Holmes at Fort Helena, July 3, 1863. Member of Fitz John Porter Court-martial.

COLONELS.

3. Pinckney Lugenbeel. Cadet at West Point, September 1, 1835, to July 1, 1840, when breveted Second Lieutenant, 5th Infantry. September 22, 1840, Second Lieutenant,

Florida war. June 29, 1846, First Lieutenant. Wounded at Churubusco, August 20, 1847, when breveted Captain for gallant and meritorious conduct in battle of Contreras and Churubusco. Adjutant 5th Infantry. September 13, 1847, Brevet Major for gallantry at Chapultepec. March 3, 1855, Captain. December 31, 1862, Major 19th Infantry. January, 1864, Acting Assistant Inspector-General. March, 1865, commanded battalion at Lookout Mountain. July, 1865, Judge Advocate. June 25, 1867, Lieutenant-Colonel. December 15, 1880, Colonel 5th Infantry, U. S. A.

4. William Pennebaker Boone. November 6, 1861, Colonel 28th Kentucky Infantry, U. S. V. Resigned June 27, 1864.
5. John Rowan Boone. September, 1861, Adjutant 28th Kentucky Infantry, U. S. V. December 24, 1863, Lieutenant-Colonel. July 5, 1864, Colonel, at 20 years of age.
6. Charles D. Pennebaker. Colonel 27th Kentucky Infantry. Mustered November 21, 1862, for three years. Resigned April 10, 1864. Commanded Brigade.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

7. Henry Jefferson Samuels. Adjutant-General of the State of Virginia, in 1861.

SURGEON.

8. Ebenezer J. Russ.

ASSISTANT SURGEON.

9. Joseph J. Pennypacker. 102d Penna. Vols. Mustered May 17, 1865, for three years. Mustered out June 28, 1865.
10. James Tyson, Acting Assistant Surgeon, Hospital Service.

ADJUTANT.

11. Henry Tyson Kendall, 50th Penna. Vols. Mustered September 10, 1861, for three years. Promoted from 1st Lieutenant Co. H, May 3, 1864. Captured May 12, 1864. Captain Co. H., January 19, 1865. Discharged February 11, 1865.

CAPTAINS.

12. Joseph Henry Vanderslice, U. S. A. Private Co. A, Bat. Eng., January 30, 1851. Corporal, July 1, 1855. Sergeant, October 1, 1856. Second Lieutenant, 14th Infantry, May 14, 1861. First Lieutenant, October 24, 1861. Captain by brevet, September 17, 1862, "for gallant and meritorious services in the battle of Antietam." Captain 14th Infantry, March 22, 1866.
13. Enos J. Pennypacker. Co. M, 163d Penna. Vols., 18th Cav. Mustered December 8, 1862, for three years. Captured at Buckley's Mills. Six months in Libby, four months in Macon, Ga., four months elsewhere. One of fifty officers selected to be placed under fire at Charleston. Wounded at Gettysburg. Mustered out October 31, 1865.

14. Nathan A. Pennypacker. Co. K, 4th Penna. Res. Mustered June 6, 1861, for three years. Mustered out June 17, 1864.
-

LIEUTENANTS.

15. Joseph V. Kendall. First Lieutenant Co. H, 50 Penna. Vols. Mustered September 10, 1861, for three years. Prisoner May 12, 1864, to March 30, 1865. Promoted from Corporal to Sergeant, to First Sergeant, to First Lieutenant May 21, 1865. Mustered out July 20, 1865. Veteran.
16. J. M. Pennypacker. Second Lieutenant Battery B, 1st Art., 43d Penna. Vols. Mustered October 1, 1863. Promoted from private to Corporal June 28, 1864. To Sergeant October 18, 1864. To Second Lieutenant, March 1, 1865. Mustered out June 9, 1865.
-

SERGEANTS.

17. Amos Pennebaker. Co. C, 20th Cav., 181st Penna. Vols. Mustered June 25, 1863. Mustered out January 6, 1864.
18. B. F. Pennepacker. Co. F, 12th Cav., 113th Penna. Vols. Mustered February 22, 1862, for three years. Missing in action Smithfield, Va., September 16, 1863.
19. James Pennypacker. Co. D, 21st Reg., Penna. Mil., 1862. Mustered September 15, 1862. Mustered out September 30, 1862.
20. Joseph Pennypacker. Quartermaster's Sergeant 4th Penna. Res. Mustered August 19, 1861, for three years. Pro-

moted from private Co. K, January 1, 1863. Mustered out June 17, 1864.

21. S. C. Pennypacker. Co. C., 174th Regt., Penna. Vols. Mustered October 31, 1862, for nine months. Mustered out August 7, 1863.

CORPORALS.

22. Joseph Pennepacker. Co. F, 68th Penna. Vols. Mustered August 23, 1862, for three years. Mustered out June 9, 1865.
23. Samuel Pennepacker. Departmental Corps, Penna. Militia. Mustered June 29, 1863. Mustered out July 8, 1863.
24. A. F. Pennypacker. Battery B, 1st Art., 43d Penna. Vols. Mustered September 24, 1863. Promoted from private, October 18, 1864. Mustered out June 9, 1865.
25. Charles Pennypacker. Co. C, 138th Penna. Vols. Mustered August 20, 1862. Wounded at Mine Run, Va., November 27, 1863. Promoted to Corporal, March 1, 1865. Mustered out June 23, 1865.
26. George Pennypacker. Co. K, 4th Penna. Res. Mustered June 6, 1861, for three years. Discharged by surgeon, February 24, 1862.
27. Henry Pennypacker. Co. D, 21st Regt., Penna. Militia. Mustered September 15, 1862. Mustered out September 30, 1862.
28. James Pennypacker. Co. A, 22d Cav., 185th Penna. Vols.

- Mustered July 16, 1863. Promoted to Corporal, January 5, 1864. Mustered out February 5, 1864.
29. Jeremiah Pennypacker. Co. B, 18th Regt., Penna. Militia. Mustered September 12, 1862. Mustered out September 27, 1862.
30. Staats Van Deursen Wack. 138th Penna. Vols. Wounded three times.
-

NAVAL SERVICE.

31. Joseph Vanderslice. Went down with the "Anthem."
32. David Felty. August 8, 1862. Steamer "Westphalia."
-

SIGNAL CORPS.

33. Jeremiah Simpson Young.
-

MUSICIANS.

34. Peter Pennypacker. Co. E, 8th Penna. Vols.
-

PRIVATES.

35. Isaac Pennypacker Anderson.
36. John H. Buckwalter. Co. B, 34th Penna. Vol. Militia. Mustered June 29, 1863. Discharged August 10, 1863.
37. Joseph Buckwalter.
38. John H. Buzzard. Co. I, 119th Penna. Vols. Killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 1, 1864.
39. Simeon Buzzard. Co. B, 34th Penna. Vol. Militia. Mustered June 29, 1863. Discharged August 10, 1863.

40. Warren Detwiler. Lost his arm.
41. Merrifield Fielding. 81st Indiana. Died in the service.
42. John Fritz.
43. D. Pannebacker. Co. I, 126th Penna. Vols. Mustered August 13, 1862, for nine months. Discharged May 20, 1863.
44. M. Pannebacker. Co. I, 126th Penna. Vols. Mustered August 13, 1862, for nine months. Discharged May 20, 1863.
45. S. B. Pannebecker. Co. A, 130th Penna. Vols. Mustered August 11, 1862, for nine months. Discharged by surgeon, December 29, 1862.
46. Albert Pannebecker. Co. H, 167th Penna. Vols. Mustered November 5, 1862. Discharged August 12, 1863.
47. J. R. Pannybaker. Co. F, 179th Penna. Vols. Mustered November 4, 1862. Discharged July 17, 1863.
48. Daniel Pannebaker. Co. E, 101st Penna. Vols. Mustered March 10, 1865, for three years. Discharged June 25, 1865.
49. Amos Pennebaker. Co. B, 17th Penna. Three months.
50. Amos Pennebaker. Co. L, 20th Cav., 181st Penna. Vols. Mustered February 8, 1864.
51. Ephraim B. Pennebaker. Co. A, 36th Penna. Militia. Mustered July 4, 1863. Discharged August 11, 1863. Also

- Co. C, 78th Penna. Vols. Mustered February 18, 1865, for one year. Discharged September 11, 1865.
52. E. W. Pennebaker. Co. F, 161st Penna. Vols., 16th Cav. Mustered September 18, 1862, for three years. Discharged June 17, 1865.
53. John Pennebaker. Co. A, 19th Cav., 118th Penna. Vols. Mustered September 23, 1863. Discharged May 14, 1866.
54. Frank Pennebaker. Co. L, 20th Cav., 181st Penna. Vols. Mustered February 3, 1864. Discharged July 13, 1865.
55. Moses Pennebaker. Co. G, 213th Penna. Vols. Mustered February 23, 1865. Discharged November 18, 1865.
56. William M. Pennebaker. Co. I, 18th Regt., Penna. Militia. Mustered September 12, 1862. Discharged September 27, 1862.
57. Henry Pennybaker. Co. G, 20th Cav., 181st Penna. Vols. Mustered January 19, 1864. Captured at Lynchburg, Va. June 19, 1864. Discharged June 27, 1865.
58. H. Pennebecker. Co. M, 89th Penna. Vols., 8th Cav. Mustered October 4, 1861, for three years.
59. Albert Pennepacker. Co. K, 205th Penna. Vols. Mustered September 1, 1864. Discharged June 2, 1865.
60. George D. Pennepacker. Co. F, 46th Penna. Militia. Mustered July 1, 1863. Discharged August 19, 1863.
61. George N. Pennepacker. Departmental Corps, Penna.

Militia. Mustered June 29, 1863. Discharged July 8, 1863.

62. James M. Pennepacker. Co. H, 210th Penna. Vols. Mustered September 15, 1864. Discharged May 30, 1865.
63. John Pennepacker. Co. A, 203d Penna. Vols. Mustered August 22, 1864.
64. Josiah Pennepacker. Co. E, 50th Penna. Militia. Mustered July 1, 1863. Discharged August 15, 1863.
65. Lewis Pennepacker. Departmental Corps, Penna. Militia. Mustered June 29, 1863. Discharged July 8, 1863.
66. N. E. Pennepacker. Co. F, 205th Penna. Vols. Mustered September 1, 1864. Discharged June 2, 1865.
67. A. Pennypacker. Co. H, 161st Penna. Vols., 16th Cav.
68. Albert Pennypacker. 12th Indiana Cavalry.
69. A. F. Pennypacker. Co. F, 124th Penna. Vols. Mustered August 11, 1862, for nine months. Discharged May 16, 1863.
70. Albin Pennypacker. Co. C, 175th Penna. Vols. Mustered November 5, 1862, for nine months.
71. Allen Pennypacker. Co. F, 197th Penna. Vols. Mustered July 18, 1864. Discharged November 11, 1864.
72. Allen S. Pennypacker. Co. D, 21st Penna. Mil. Mustered September 15, 1862. Discharged September 30, 1862.
73. Abel F. Pennypacker. Co. B, 29th Penna. Vol. Mil. Mustered June 19, 1863. Discharged August 1, 1863.

74. Charles H. Pennypacker. Co. F, Penna. Mil. Mustered September 10, 1862. Discharged September 27, 1862. Co. B, 29th Penna. Vol. Mil. Mustered June 19, 1863. Discharged August 1, 1863.
75. George Pennypacker. Independent Artil., Penna. Mil. Mustered July 1, 1863. Discharged August 24, 1863.
76. H. K. Pennypacker. Co. L, 89th Penna. Vols., 8th Cav. Mustered September 20, 1861, for three years.
77. H. S. Pennypacker. Co. G, 175th Penna. Vols. Mustered November 6, 1862, for nine months.
78. Henry Pennypacker. Co. C, 16th Penna. Mil. Mustered September 17, 1862. Discharged September 25, 1862. Co. C, 29th Penna. Vol. Mil. Mustered June 19, 1863. Discharged August 1, 1863.
79. Isaac Pennypacker. Co. D, 21st Penna. Mil. Mustered September 15, 1862. Discharged September 30, 1862.
80. Jacob Pennypacker. Co. C, 179th Penna. Vols. Mustered November 5, 1862, for nine months. Discharged July 27, 1863.
81. James F. Pennypacker. Co. F, 1st Penna. Reserves. Mustered July 10, 1861, for three years. Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps November 25, 1863.
82. James M. Pennypacker. Co. B, 29th Penna. Vol. Militia. Mustered June 19, 1863. Discharged August 1, 1863.
83. J. C. Pennypacker. Co. D, 91st Penna. Vols. Mustered

February 29, 1864, for three years. Discharged July 10, 1865.

84. Jesse Pennypacker. Co. H, 3d Penna. Res. Mustered September 27, 1862, for three years. Transferred to 54th Penna. Vols., July 4, 1864.
85. John Pennypacker. Independent Cav. Co. Penna. Militia. Mustered July 9, 1864. Discharged October 29, 1864.
86. Judson Pennypacker. Co. K, 11th Penna. Militia. Mustered September 12, 1862. Discharged September 25, 1862.
87. Levi Pennypacker. Co. C, 175th Penna. Vols. Mustered November 5, 1862. Discharged August 7, 1863.
88. M. Pennypacker. Co. K, 196th Penna. Vols. Mustered July 15, 1864. Discharged November 17, 1864.
89. Matthias W. Pennypacker. Co. D, 10th Md. Infy. Died in the service.
90. R. H. Pennypacker. Co. F, 99th Penna. Vols. Mustered October 22, 1861, for three years.
91. Richard H. Pennypacker. Co. A, 44th Penna. Militia. Mustered July 1, 1863. Discharged August 27, 1863.
92. S. Pennypacker. Co. A, 116th Penna. Vols. Mustered August 23, 1862, for three years.
93. Samuel W. Pennypacker. Co. F, 26th Penna. Emergency. First force to meet the rebels at Gettysburg. Mustered June 19, 1863. Discharged July 30, 1863.

- 94. Samuel C. Pennypacker.
- 95. Thomas M. Pennypacker. Co. H, 3d New Jersey. Mustered August 27, 1862, for three years when 16 years old.
- 96. Thomas W. Pennypacker. Co. B, 34th Penna. Militia. Mustered June 3, 1863. Discharged August 24, 1863.
- 97. John Place.
- 98. Frederick Raysor.
- 99. Matthias Pennypacker Showalter. Co. B, 34th Penna. Vol. Militia. Mustered June 29, 1863. Discharged August, 1863.
- 100. Charles Vanderslice.
- 101. John C. Vanderslice.
- 102. Caleb Hurst Young.
- 103. Jacob Weimer Young.

CONFEDERATE.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

- 104. John Dyer Pennybacker. Major on the staff of General Kenton Harper. Lieutenant-Colonel on the staff of Governor John Letcher, of Virginia.

SURGEON.

- 105. George M. Pennybacker.

CAPTAINS.

- 106. Benjamin Rush Pennybacker. Stuart's Cavalry.
 - 107. John Pennybacker.
 - 108. James Edmund Pennybacker. Private 10th Va. Infy. Captain Young Reserves.
 - 109. Thomas Jefferson Pennybacker. Co. H, 10th Va. Cav. Killed at Flint Hill, Va., December 6, 1862.
 - 110. Alexander H. Samuels. Killed January 3, 1864.
-

LIEUTENANTS.

- 111. Derrick D. Pennybacker. Second Lieutenant Co. H, 7th Va. Cav.
 - 112. John Byrd Pennybacker. Jenkins' Cavalry.
 - 113. Joseph S. Pennybacker. Second Lieutenant Co. B, 7th Va. Cav. Wounded four times.
 - 114. Green B. Samuels. First Lieutenant Muhlenberg Rifles.
 - 115. Lafayette Samuels. First Lieutenant Co. A, 16th Va. Cav.
-

QUARTERMASTER.

- 116. Perry Byrd.
-

HOSPITAL STEWARD.

- 117. Francis Stribling Pennybacker. 6th Va. Cav. Private 8th Va. Infy.

PRIVATES.

118. Abraham Byrd.
119. Robert N. Gaw. 7th Va. Cav.
120. Alfred Pennybacker. Tennessee. Killed.
121. Benjamin Pennybacker. Tennessee. Killed.
122. Benjamin Pennybacker. Virginia. Died in the service,
September 5, 1861.
123. Benjamin Pennybacker. Virginia.
124. Benjamin Pennybacker. Virginia.
125. Albert D. Pennybacker. Virginia.
126. Edwin R. Pennebaker. Tennessee.
127. Hiram Pennybacker. Virginia.
128. George Pennybacker. Tennessee. Killed.
129. Isaac Pennybacker. Tennessee. Killed.
130. Isaac Samuels Pennybacker. 10th Va. Cav. Shot through
the lungs.
131. Joel Pennybacker. Mo. Infy.
132. John Pennybacker. Virginia.
133. John S. Pennybacker. Virginia.
134. James Pennybacker. Virginia.
135. Joseph Pennybacker. Virginia.
136. Mounce Byrd Pennybacker. Virginia.
137. William H. Pennybacker. Virginia.

- 138. Hiram P. Mitchell. Virginia.
- 139. John Mark Mitchell. 8th Va. Cav. Wounded three times.
- 140. Joseph S. Mitchell. Virginia.
- 141. Abraham Samuels. Virginia.
- 142. Green Samuels. Virginia.
- 143. Samuel Samuels. Killed in the Wilderness.
- 144. Sylvanus Samuels. Virginia. Commissary Department.

It is believed that this war-record, though necessarily incomplete, comprising one hundred and forty-four men, of whom twenty-seven were commissioned officers, including two generals and four colonels, is unequalled by that of any other American family. Since there have been so few attempts to group together facts of this character, the statement cannot be made with certainty as to its accuracy, but there are substantial reasons for thinking the claim to be justified, and at all events our contributions of valor and sacrifice in that most momentous struggle were so extensive as to merit attention.

Of the women three married Judges, one was the wife of a United States Senator, and another has gone back across the Atlantic to live as a Countess on the shores of Lake Geneva.

The record of Hendrick Pannebecker, as it has been left after suffering the abrasions and depletions of two centuries of time, has now been written. Enough remains to indicate with clearness that he possessed both intellectual and physical vigor, and that he bore no unimportant part in the building up of that great American Commonwealth which, from its beginning, has ever been liberal in principle and great in achievement. "'Tis a crabbed, sullen, proud kind of people, and bent on establishing a popular government," wrote my Lord Leicester to Queen Elizabeth in 1587 about the Dutch. Let others boast, if they will, that their ancestors, after passing the Channel, tarried for awhile along the Mersey and the Thames before making the bolder venture of crossing the broad Atlantic. It is our pride that we drew our inspiration with our blood from that sturdy race living where the river Rhine meets the North Sea, who encountered and resisted with like courage and success the storms of ocean and the hosts of Spain, and who, in maintaining with rugged tenacity their own freedom of thought and conscience, preserved as well the liberties of modern Europe.



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